

The Philanthropist

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND

We are verily guilty concerning our brother • • • therefore is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editors.

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CINCINNATI, OHIO, FRIDAY, AUGUST, 4, 1837.

WHOLE NO. 77.

THE PHILANTHROPIST,
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POETRY.

For the Philanthropist.

SLAVE PRODUCE.

Why toils the slave in anguish, 'tis for me!
No! I never knew a slave; and all are free
Around my dwelling as the mountain air;
'And all should be, not only here, but where
The chain is clanking on the tortured limb,
If act of mine, as fervent prayer to Him,
Who rules the rolling orbs, could burst the chain,
Or even tears wash out his sufferings and our stain!

A thought clouds o'er my mind, a horrid thought!
'A slave bath toiled for me!' have I not bought
His unrequited earnings? do not I
Use what his toil produces? Tho' his cry
Sunk to my heart, and pierced, its very core,
I thought not what I ate, and what I wore
Were earned by him—that tears were shed for me,
That avarice caused those groans, the avarice of the free!

But who sustains this avarice? do not we!
We, who desire that all men should be free,
Call on the South (where hopeless toils the slave,
Weeps, faints, and dies, and rests but in the grave,
For slavery's products! Human beings then,
Are in the market sold: beasts made of men,
That we may be more proud, forgetting those
Who, for our sakes, are crushed with nameless,
countless woes!

A shudder passes o'er me, and I shrink
With horror at the thought! do we not drink
The life-blood of the slave—consume his heart,
Thoughtless in festive viands!—Man is part,
An emanation of the God Most High!
And the poor slave is Man! Repent and cry,
For mercy of High Heaven! we have trod
On man the image, emanation, heir of God!

HUMANITAS.

TEXAS.

Annexation of Texas.—Probable Consequences of the Measure.

The last number of the Friend of Man, contains an able written article on the probable consequences of the annexation of Texas to the United States. We wish our room would admit of our giving it entire to our readers—its great length forbids. It is time the North were aroused on the subject. The silence of the press upon it is to be deprecated.—*Niagara (N. Y.) Courier.*

Let us now look at some of the inevitable or probable consequences of adding Texas to our Union. We will mention a number of things which would seem to be the natural or necessary results of such a measure; though it may be true that all of them might not be realized to the fullest extent, because one fatal catastrophe might preclude or terminate the lingering and permanent maladies that might otherwise be developed and perpetuated.

1.—In the first place, then, the annexation of Texas would probably be accompanied or followed by a war with Mexico. No one supposes that Mexico will relinquish her claims upon her revolted province without a struggle. And the moment we receive Texas into the Union, we shall have become parties to the controversy, as a matter of course. Such an annexation during the present struggle between Texas and Mexico, would be considered by all civil nations as equivalent to a declaration of war against Mexico. So fully is this point conceded by every one, that there is an evident effort to bring the nation up to the point of declaring war against Mexico in the first place, and then annexing Texas as a province conquered in war!

2.—All civilized nations—the united voice of all Christendom, would undoubtedly reproach us, and justly reproach us, with having entered upon an unrighteous, an aggressive, a piratical, an ambitious, and an avaricious war! A war of conquest and plunder. A war for the re-establishment of our own national declaration of independence. A war against the liberties of mankind! With all the facts of the case before them, it is impossible that impartial spectators could come to any other conclusion. Universal history would thus record it. Posterity—our own posterity, would thus read and understand it. The brand of infamy would be burnt into the national escutcheon, and rolling ages could never efface it. This may be set down among the certain and not the probable consequences of a Mexican war, to begin with.

3.—This war would bring along with it the miseries and the butcheries and the expenditures and the vices and the gambling speculations and the hardness of heart and the moral blindness and the debauchery and the drunkenness and the depravity and the corruption and the inhumanity and the ignorance and the final ruin that have always followed in the line of all unhallowed and wicked wars.

4.—The scorn, jealousies, and interests of other nations might induce them to join with Mexico in this war. The Indians on our frontier would stand ready as a matter of course. There are many, and among them some of our most profound statesmen, who have thought it probable that Great Britain would not remain neutral in such a controversy. There is indeed, a rumor which obtains credit among statesmen of the first order, that secret negotiations have already been entered into, having for their object the relinquishment of that part of the State of Maine, so long disputed under the famous New England Boundary Question, in order to bribe Great Britain into a neutrality in our anticipated Mexican war! What will the people of New England say to this? A part of the FREEMEN of the North, SOLD to a foreign nation, as the price of extending the borders of SLAVERY in the South. Unless the bargain should be made, it is highly probable that the annexation of Texas would involve us in a British war. The tone of the British Government, a few months ago, was too significant to be misunderstood. If the recent acknowledgment of Mexican independence, the people of the State of Maine will do well to inquire into the causes of her new-born apathy on the subject.

5.—A war with Mexico; either with or without European aid, might very naturally lead to a servile insurrection, and a servile war. No small portion of the available forces of Mexico, are recently emancipated slaves! And they understand well enough, that the claim of the United States on Texas, is nothing more nor less than a claim for the re-establishment of slavery in the Mexican empire, where it had been once abolished. They know perfectly well, that the claim on Texas stands on no other footing than would the claim for the annexation of any other Mexican State! Their ears have not been deaf when the South has been already heard to clamor for Columbia as well as Texas! Give us this and they will know that we should next demand another State, and then another, until all Mexico should become annexed to the United States. And to a large portion of the effective free population, nay, rather its laboring population, the question of the annexation of Texas is little less than a question whether they themselves, who were once slaves but now enjoy freedom, shall be reduced again to the condition of "goods and chattels!" There are actually six or eight thousand persons now resident in the province of Texas alone, who will be freemen if the claims of Mexico are maintained; but will be slaves if Texas is annexed to the United States. Our northern laboring freemen may fail to take a timely alarm at the encroachments and threats of the South. Not so with the more wary laboring freemen of Mexico! They remember the wormwood and the gall! They will read in the North American annexation of Texas, the fixed determination of the ruling powers of the United States to reduce themselves again to slavery! And they will read correctly. No honest southern statesman could deny the allegation. Or, if he did, the denial would fix upon him the double brand of effrontery and folly. The annexation of Texas with her slave-holding Constitution, to the slave-holding North American States, and in defiance of the remonstrances of emancipated Mexico, of which the province of Texas is a constituent part, would carry on the broad front of the transaction itself, a declaration of not only against the Mexican Government, but against the continued emancipation of the former Mexican slaves. No southern man pretends that any portion of the Mexican empire is to be added to the United States without the re-establishment of slavery. No statesmen more emphatically than those of the south, have affirmed that free and slave labor can not co-exist. The annexation of Texas becomes a precedent, then, and an entering wedge, for re-enslaving the entire laboring population of Mexico. And a Mexican war is a war for carrying the precedent into instant effect!

What, then, will be the nature of our proposed war with Mexico—for a proposal for the annexation of Texas is a proposal for a Mexican war—and what may not be expected of the Mexicans in such a war? Would it be strange if the emancipated slaves of Mexico, in self defence against threatened and attempted re-enslavement, should find means to identify their efforts with the slaves of our own southern states? And what marvel if the slave population of the southwestern slave states should avail themselves of such an opportunity to assert their freedom! How natural and rational, then, is the apprehension that the annexation of Texas would involve the country in a bloody and calamitous servile war. If, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, "the Almighty has no attribute which could take sides with us in such a contest," it would at least be the dictate of common prudence in our statesmen to defer the annexation of Texas until they are able to "thunder with a voice like his."

In conclusion, the writer recapitulates as follows:—
"If Texas is annexed to the United States, we must of necessity, as a people, abide the result in one of these three things, viz:
1. The measure must produce war, insurrection, bloodshed, defeat, or;
2. If it be peaceably, or by conquest, succeed, the nation is governed by the slave-holding power. To shake off that intolerable yoke—the Union will be dissolved; or,
3. The freemen of the North will submit to this yoke of oppression, and become slaves.
Who can imagine and point out another probable alternative!

POLITICAL.

From the National Gazette,
Pennsylvania Convention.

HARRISBURG, July 7, 1837.

The often agitated question of an adjournment occupied the whole of this day, and after a great deal of warm debate, was settled by agreeing to adjourn on the 14th inst. to meet again, not naming the place, on the 17th of October. Messrs. Bell, Reigart, Cunningham, Scott and Martin, were appointed a committee to ascertain and report at what place the Convention can be accommodated when it shall meet in October.

HARRISBURG, July 8, 1837.

Mr. Ingersoll presented the proceedings of a meeting held in Philadelphia on the subject of the currency. Leave was asked by the Committee appointed yesterday to visit Lancaster and Philadelphia, and refused. Mr. Martin, I am told is determined, notwithstanding, to proceed to the city forthwith.

Mr. Denny presented a petition from the colored people of Pittsburgh, against depriving them of the right of suffrage, which he moved should be presented and referred to the Committee on the third article. Some objection being made, Mr. Denny moved that the document accompanying the petition be read, which was agreed to. Mr. Ingersoll moved the appointment of a special committee, as the standing committee had already reported in favor of the petitioners, though he scarcely knew whether this was a petition, and if it were, some of the language was objectionable, and he thought disrespectful to some of the delegates. As these people have now set up the claim of being free citizens of Pennsylvania, the subject was a momentous one, worthy of the most deliberate and cautious consideration, and should always be considered with reference to our connection with those States which contain a larger population of these people. He thought that some of the language of the petition was disrespectful to the people of those States. Freeman, said he, have no right to petition; this belongs only to those who are not free. John Quincy Adams fell into this error with regard to the right of petitioning. Free citizens cannot petition. They have the right to command or instruct their representatives.

Mr. Forward thought the gentleman was entirely mistaken, as the Constitution expressly says, that all citizens have the right. He well knew that when the whole people speak in their might, and with an united voice, they have a right to command, and their will must be obeyed; but a portion of the people cannot command or instruct the representatives of the whole; their voice can only be heard by petition. This petition should be disposed of as others had been. They do not petition for a redress of grievances, as the Society of Friends has done, but that their rights as guaranteed by the Constitution of 1790, may be impaired. It was true the subject had been disposed of by a very decided vote, and the Convention had determined that the language of the Constitution should not be changed, yet there was no reason why a respectful petition from any of the citizens of this State should not be received, because their complexion might be a shade darker than other citizens.

Mr. Chandler, of the city, said that whilst he would carefully abstain from any interference with the rights of other states, he would maintain the rights of every class of our citizens, and the right of petition and free discussion.

Mr. Chambers cared not whether the language were respectful or decorous to every member of the Convention or not. It was respectful to the Convention, and other States had nothing to do with it. The petition should be received. The question now was not on abolition—but on the right of petition, and this he was prepared to maintain.

Mr. Forward again said there could be no distinction, as it had not yet been determined who was a 'white' man, and if it were, all are free citizens.

Mr. Cummins spoke with great warmth, and styled the colored people the race of Canaan—and undertook to prove it by scripture, and that slavery is an ordinance of the Creator, who had intended them to be slaves.

Mr. Stevens said the gentlemen from Junata certainly had forgotten the declaration of the apostle, that "God made of one blood all nations of men who dwell upon the face of the earth." Are we, said he, to be told by a foreigner, who has left his native country, that men who were natives and free citizens of Pennsylvania before he was a citizen of the United States, are a base people—fit only for slaves. Are such doctrines to be proclaimed on this floor by foreign demagogues—or those who hold slaves or admire the institution. He proceeded to attack considerable length in very harshly commenting on the conduct of slaveholders, and the abettors of slavery.

Mr. Porter, of Northampton replied. He said he was a friend of the colored people—and such inflammatory language as the gentleman from Adams had used, was only calculated to excite the passions. He, as well as the worthy President of the Convention, had been for years counsel for the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, and he was willing to do any thing to ameliorate the condition of the colored people, or advance their emancipation from slavery. He was no advocate for slavery, and was surprised that any delegate had said any thing in favor of it. But he thought slavery would have been abolished in Virginia and Maryland by this time, if Northern men had not vilified them in harsh and opprobrious language, as some of the Abolition papers have done. Man, he remarked, is a stubborn animal, though he can be persuaded to almost any thing, yet he will not be forced into anything. He will not be kicked even into heaven. Every friend of the colored people must regret the use of such language in their defence.

Mr. Biddle said, the right of petition is a right sacred to all, high and low, without distinction. He therefore should vote for printing the memorial. But he could not hold his peace and hear the language the gentleman from Adams had applied to our Southern brethren. Was it not Washington and other Southern men who took the lead in achieving the liberty we now enjoy? None have been more able defenders of the rights of man and of civil and religious liberty than our Southern brethren. Whilst he would repel any attempt of the South to interfere with our domestic affairs, he would as carefully abstain from any interference with theirs. The Constitution of the United States was a compromise, and let that compromise be maintained.

Mr. Brown, of Philadelphia, also vindicated the character of the South, who in the treatment of their slave manifested more affection towards them than Northern men did towards the free laborers in their employ. They are protected by law as far as they can be in their situation. He was not prepared to turn them loose at once regardless of consequences, though he desired the abolition of slavery as soon as consistent with the peace and safety of the country. He was in favor of receiving but not of printing the memorial, as he did not desire to send such inflammatory appeals throughout the State. He disliked the agitation of the subject.

Mr. Dickey defended the character of the abolitionists, and said if their principles were generally known they would not be stigmatized as they were; as none of them desired to interfere with the reserved rights of the South, if he understood their principles. He also defended the character of the negroes, and read the proclamation of General Jackson to the colored people of New Orleans, and referred to history to prove that the first man whose blood was shed in the war of the Revolution was a colored man.

Mr. McCabin would vote for printing the memorial, because he thought other petitions would be received for and against the object of these petitioners, and thus the Convention would be able to come to a correct decision.

The question was then taken, on referring to the Standing Committee on the 3d article, and decided in the negative—Yeas 16, Nays 85. The memorial was then laid on the table, and ordered to be printed—Yeas 56, Nays 45.

The following are the statements which accompanied the memorial of the colored people of Pittsburgh, to the convention of Pennsylvania. They will be found to be very interesting.

"The committee appointed by the free colored citizens of the city of Pittsburgh, at their public meeting on the 13th of June, 1837, to make certain inquiries concerning the moral, social, and political condition of the colored population of Pittsburgh, and its vicinity, have performed the duty assigned them, and beg leave to submit the following report:—

"The number of the colored population of the city of Pittsburgh, and villages immediately adjacent, is supposed to be about 2,500. Their manner of living is generally the same as that of those among whom they are located. The sacred obligations and duties of the family relation are respected and practised among them, as it is among all christian people. They are believers in the doctrines of the Bible, and the worshippers of that God whose attributes and character it more fully unfolds. They are the decided friends of good order, and the supremacy of the laws under which they live; and feel a warm interest in the peace, safety, honor and prosperity of the commonwealth.

"The colored population of the city of Pittsburgh, have under their exclusive government, one African Methodist Episcopal Church, of 205 members. The house in which they worship belongs to them, and is a substantial brick building, newly enlarged and repaired, and furnished with comfortable pews, Venetian window blinds, and opaque lamps, and is valued at ten thousand dollars. The congregation is large, orderly, and well attended. Their doors are always open to all well-behaved people; and no person has ever been excluded from the best of their seats, on account of the complexion which it may have pleased the Almighty to give him. Besides these there is a number of colored persons attached to the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist and Catholic congregations of the city.

"They have a very flourishing Sunday School of ninety-seven scholars, and fifteen teachers; furnished with a library, selected chiefly from the publications of the American Sunday School Union. This school is exerting a most happy influence on the moral character of the rising youth.

"They have a common day school, taught by a young colored man, a graduate of the Ohio University. The number of scholars now in regular attendance is 85, many of whom are making rapid progress in their studies, and are preparing for future usefulness and respectability in society. The house in which it is taught, and the lot on which it stands, belong to the colored people, and is valued at two thousand dollars; and the school is supported entirely by the colored people.

"They have a Temperance Society of about 170 members, now in active operation; and no institution ever exerted a more happy influence on the moral character of any people, than this has done on the moral character of the colored people of Pittsburgh. They have purchased with their own funds, and distributed gratuitously, 300 copies of the Temperance Almanac; and besides a considerable number of Temperance tracts. And they are now regularly taking 80 copies of the Pennsylvania Temperance Recorder.

"They have a moral reform and literary society, whose object is the improvement of the morals, the promotion of the mechanic arts, and the diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of the colored people.

They have among them four benevolent societies, male and female; the oldest of which has in its treasury a fund of \$20 dollars. The treasuries of the others are solvent and well supported. The object of these societies is to relieve the wants of their members and friends, when in sickness or distress, thereby preventing the disgrace of their becoming chargeable to the state as paupers, or going to the common poor-house.

"The amount of property and poll tax paid by the colored citizens of Pittsburgh, amounts to about 432 dollars, according to the report of the city collector, which accompanies this report and is marked F. The amount of water tax paid by them is about 400 dollars. And the amount of house rent paid by them is about 10,000 dollars. The amount of real estate owned by them is valued at thousand dollars.

In the city of Pittsburgh, there are colored mechanics embracing the following trades, viz: carpenters, blacksmiths, brick-layers, stone-masons, boot and shoe-makers, plasterers, painters, tanners and curriers, copper-smiths, and shipwrights; and in the vicinity of the city there are several farmers. All these are constantly; and some of them very successfully, employed in their several avocations. It has frequently been remarked by impartial observers, that there is less idleness and drunkenness among the colored people who actually live in the city, than among any other class of her population. The amount of pauperism among them is extremely small; and according to the report of the overseers of the poor, which accompanies this report, and is marked B, does not average more than three in a year, (his own language was "perhaps only a little over two") and the annual expense of these is about 75 dollars each.

In the village of Arthursville, immediately adjacent to the city, on the east side, about seventy-one colored families reside. Thirty-six of these are owners of real estate; the very lowest estimate of which is \$36,000. For some of the lots as much as 2,500 dollars has been offered. The remaining thirty-five families are tenants, at from three to four dollars a month rent; amounting in the aggregate to about \$1428. The people of this village have erected for themselves a small church, in which divine services are celebrated every Sabbath day. They have a Sunday school of from 80 to 85 scholars, and also a very full common school. The people of this village have done much to acquire the property they possess—to improve and make their dwellings comfortable—to educate their children, and prepare them for usefulness and respectability.

In the borough of Alleghenytown, lying immediately west of the city, 27 colored families reside. Seven of these are the owners of real estate, some of which is highly valuable, lying near the centre of the business part of the borough. Eight are the owners of valuable leases, and twelve are tenants, whose aggregate rent is \$458. The property tax of some of them is \$10 40 cents, while some of them are as low as \$3 75. All the others pay the usual poll-tax.

The committee have had no time to pursue their investigations further. They believe however, that enough has been exhibited, to satisfy any unprejudiced mind, that the colored population appreciate their present privileges; and are endeavoring to sustain themselves honorably, and respectfully in the community in which they live. Whatever of ignorance or degradation there is among us, owes its existence to our former state in life. Slavery, that unrighteous and unnatural state in which many of us were raised, deprived us of every means of moral cultivation, and sought its own solid interest in shutting out every ray of intellectual light. The fathers of this commonwealth have abolished this wicked system; and the wisdom of their deed is evinced in the fact, that as we further recede from the galling fetters of the slave, we are better prepared to sustain the honors and high responsibilities of freemen.

In conclusion, the committee would say, let it be the chief pride of our existence to render ourselves worthy the land of William Penn.

JOHN B. VASHON, of Pittsburgh,
JAMES MARSHALL, of Alleghenytown;
SAMUEL RAYBOLD, of Pittsburgh,
THOMAS KNOX, of Arthursville,
LEWIS WOODSON, of Pittsburgh,
Committee.

Pittsburgh, June 19, 1837.

The foregoing report was read, and unanimously adopted in a public meeting of the free colored citizens of Pittsburgh, and ordered to accompany their memorial to the Convention for proposing amendments to the existing constitution of Pennsylvania, now met at Harrisburg.

LEWIS WOODSON, Secretary.

Pittsburgh, June 28, 1837.

B.

Pittsburgh, July 3d, 1837.

The colored population of the city average three persons chargeable, or something like \$75 00 a year for each person.

F.	
J. B. Vashon pays	\$130 00
Ch. Richards "	46 00
Geo. Gardner "	24 00
Frono Logan "	22 00
A. Lewis "	30 00
J. Mitchell "	20 00
T. Norris "	18 00
Mrs. Lewis "	7 00
\$297 00	

The above named persons pay the amount of city and poor tax, and there are at least 100 men, who pay a poll tax of \$1 25 each.

THOMAS DICKSON, City Collector.

JUDICIAL.

Case of William Dixon.

The Recorder has finally allowed this case to be carried to the Supreme Court on a writ of *habeas corpus* for a jury trial. It will be remembered, that in the case of *Jack v. Mary Martin*, [2 Wendell, 314,] the Supreme Court decided that Jack was a slave, and that the State law granting a jury trial was unconstitutional. That case was carried up to the court for the Correction of Errors, and the decision of the Supreme Court was confirmed so far as related to the slavery of Jack, he having admitted in his plea that he was the slave of Mary Martin, and rested his claim to freedom on the fact that she was a citizen of the State of New York; but no decision was had on the other point of the constitutionality of the state laws. Opinions, however, were expressed, first by the Chancellor in favor of the constitutionality of the state law, and secondly by Senator Bishop, against it. The case of Dixon, not being embarrassed with any admissions, will either cause the Supreme Court to recede from its position, in deference to the opinion of the Chancellor, or it will be carried up to the court for the Correction of Errors, and will call forth a decision which will finally settle the question between the act of Congress and the state law.

We submit the opinion of the Chancellor so far as regards the constitutionality of a trial by jury. [14 Wendell, 514,]—*Emancipator.*

OPINION OF THE CHANCELLOR IN REGARD TO TRIAL BY JURY. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst. in relation to the case of William Dixon, and in reply to inform you that this cause has been argued in this court upon the assumption, that the decision which is now to be made necessarily involves the question as to the constitutionality of Congress to legislate upon the subject of fugitive

slaves and apprentices—or in the language of the constitution, persons held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another; and the decision of the court below is put upon the ground that Congress not only has the power to legislate upon the subject, but that their legislation must necessarily be exclusive in relation to this matter; that the law of Congress of February 1793, is valid and binding upon the States; under which law any free citizen of this State may be seized as a slave or apprentice who has escaped from servitude, and transported to a different part of the union, without any trial except a summary examination before a magistrate, who is not even clothed with power to compel the attendance of witnesses upon such investigation; and upon the certificate of such magistrate that he is satisfied that such citizen owes service to the person claiming him under the laws of the State to which he is to be transported. If the decision of this cause turned upon these questions, I am not prepared to say that the Congress of the United States had the power, under the Constitution, to make the certificate of a State magistrate conclusive evidence of the right of the claimant, to remove a native born citizen of that State to a distant part of the union, so as to deprive him of the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and the right of trial by jury in the State where he is found. In the case of *Martin*, before the Circuit Court of the United States for the southern district of New York, to which we were referred to the argument, the facts appear to be assumed that there is no question as to the identity of the individual, whose services are claimed, and that he is in truth a fugitive from the State under whose laws it is alleged that he owes services or labor to the claimant. If these important facts are conceded or judicially established, with the additional fact that the fugitive was actually claimed, and held in servitude in the State from which he fled, whether rightfully or otherwise, previous to his flight, I admit there can be no reasonable objection in principle to the removal of the person whose services were thus claimed, back to the State from which he fled, as the most proper place for the trial and final decision of the question whether the claimant was legally entitled to his services, according to the law of that State. But suppose, as is frequently the case, that the question to be tried relates merely to the identity of the person claimed as a fugitive slave or apprentice, he insisting that he is a native free born citizen of the State where he is found residing at the time the claim is made, and that he has never been in the state under whose laws his services are claimed—can it for a moment be supposed that the framers of the Constitution intended to authorize the transportation of a person thus claimed to a distant part of the union, as a slave, upon a mere summary examination before an inferior state magistrate, who is clothed with no power to compel the attendance of witnesses to ascertain the truth of the allegations of the respective parties? Whatever others may think upon this subject, I must still be permitted to doubt whether the purpose of the revolution who framed the Constitution of the United States, and who had incorporated into the Declaration of Independence, as one of the justifiable causes of separation from our mother country, that the inhabitants of the colonies had been transported beyond seas for trial, could ever have intended to sanction such a principle as to one who was merely claimed as a fugitive from servitude in another state.

I am one of those who have been in the habit of believing, that the state legislatures had general powers to pass laws on all subjects, except those in which they were restricted by the Constitution of the United States, or their own local constitutions, and that Congress had no power to legislate on any subject, except so far as the power was delegated to it by the Constitution of the United States. I have looked in vain among the powers delegated to Congress by the Constitution, for any general authority to that body to legislate on this subject. It certainly is not contained in any express grant of power, and it does not appear to be embraced in the general grant of incidental powers contained in the last clause of the Constitution relative to the powers of Congress. *Constitution*, Art. I, § 8, 17. The laws of the United States respecting fugitives from justice and fugitive slaves, is not a law to carry into effect any of the powers expressly granted to Congress, "or any of the powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof." It appears to be a law to regulate the exercise of the rights secured to the individual states, or the inhabitants thereof; by the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution; which section, like the ninth section of the first, merely imposes a restriction and a duty upon other states and individuals in relation to such rights, but vests no power in the federal government, or any department or officer thereof, except the judicial power of declaring and enforcing the rights secured by the Constitution. The act of February, 1793, conferring ministerial powers upon the state magistrates, and regulating the exercise of the powers of the state executive, is certainly not a law to carry into effect the judicial power of the United States; which judicial power cannot be vested in state officers. If the provisions of the Constitution, as to fugitive slaves and fugitives from justice, could not be carried into effect without the actual legislation of Congress on the subject, perhaps a power of federal legislation might be implied from the Constitution itself; but no such power can be inferred from the mere fact that it may be more convenient that Congress should exercise the power, than that it should be exercised by the state legislatures. In these cases of fugitive slaves and fugitives from justice, it is not certain that any legislation whatever is necessary, or was contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. The provisions as to persons escaping from servitude in one state into another, appears by their journal to have been adopted by an unanimous vote of the convention. At that time the existence of involuntary servitude, or the relation of master and servant, was known to and recognized by the laws of every state in the union except Massachusetts, and the legal right of recaption by the master existed in all, as a part of the customary or common law of the whole confederacy. On the other hand, the common law writ of *habeas corpus*, for the purpose of trying the right of the master to the services of the slave, was well known to the laws of the several states, and was in constant use for that purpose, except so far as it had been superseded by the more summary proceeding by *habeas corpus*, or by local legislation. The object of the framers of the Constitution, therefore, was not to provide a new mode by which the master might be enabled to recover the services of his fugitive slave, but merely to restrain the exercise of power, which the state legislatures respectively would otherwise have possessed, to deprive the master of such prerogative right of recaption. Under this provision of the constitution, even without any legislation on the subject, the right of the master to reclaim the fugitive slave is fully secured, so as to give him a valid claim in damages against any one who interferes with the right. *Glen v. Hodges*, 9 John R. 67. But even if legislation on this subject is actually necessary, in order to secure to the master the full enjoyment of the right of recaption guaranteed to him by the constitution, the state legislatures are perfectly competent to pass the necessary laws to carry this provision of the constitution into full effect. The members of the state legislatures, as well as other state officers, both executive and judicial, being bound by oath to support the constitution, it cannot be legally presumed that they will violate their duty in this respect. The Constitution of the United States being the paramount law on this subject, the judicial tribunals of the respective states are bound by their oaths to protect the master's constitution right of recaption, against any improper state, and against unauthorized acts of individuals, by which such right may be impaired; and the Supreme Court of the United States, as the tribunal of dernier resort on such a question, is presumed of ample powers to correct such an erroneous decision which might be made in the state courts against the right of the master. Upon the fullest examination of the subject, therefore, I

find it impossible to bring my mind to the conclusion that the framers of the constitution have authorized the Congress of the United States to pass a law which shall be a certificate of the right of the claimant, to remove one who may be a free native born citizen of this state, to a distant part of the union as a slave; and thereby to deprive such person of the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*, as well as of his common law suit to try his right of citizenship in the state where the claim is made, and where he is residing at the time of such claim.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Journal and Luminary.
Letter from Dr. Phillips.

My Dear Sir,—By a member returned from the General Assembly, I have received a letter from the Rev. Doctor Phillips, which I send to you for publication. After a careful perusal of it, and comparing it with the communication in the Journal to which it refers, I see but one thing in which I mistake his meaning, and that is, when I understood him to be speaking generally in reference to the conduct of Thompson in America, he had in his mind only a particular instance of imprudence. As to the rest, the sentiments of the letter correspond entirely with my own; nor did I attribute any thing to Dr. P., at all inconsistent with any of them, as may be seen by an examination of my letter in the Journal of Oct. 20th, 1836.

Truly Yours,
C. E. STOWE.

Walnut Hill, July 12, 1837.

My Dear Sir,

I have this morning had a number of the Boston Recorder put into my hands, containing a communication said to have been from you, professing to give the substance of a conversation which you had with me, respecting Mr. George Thompson, and the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States. The impression made upon my mind by the article in question, makes me regret exceedingly that you did not take another means to obtain my real sentiments on the topics you have noticed, than was to be obtained by a desultory conversation entered into on my part, merely to obtain the opinion of an intelligent American gentleman, on a subject on which I had not made up my mind, and that you did not inform me of your intention, and submit your notes to my correction, before you sent them to the United States for publication. From the time I left the Cape of Good Hope, in 1836, and since I have been in England, I have thought of visiting America before my return to Africa; but on all occasions when this subject has been noticed, I have invariably said I would previously give no pledge to any man or body of men, as to the manner in which I should act in America, in reference to the question of slavery. From this avowal of my sentiments, you will perceive that you must have mistaken my sentiments when you stated that I had given decided opinions on all the points you have mentioned. What I said in reference to Mr. Thompson, must, I suppose, have referred to his controversy with Dr. Cox, a part of his conduct, in which I thought he acted imprudently, and not to conduct in America, speaking of it generally, as I was not sufficiently acquainted with the manner in which he had acted there, to justify me in passing a general censure on his conduct. The word "imprudence" must have been a misprint for "imprudence." All violent language and violent proceedings I have been opposed to, because it is a maxim of mine, that men cannot be forced or scolded into obedience to the laws of God, but I do not carry my pacific views so far as to say that the north has nothing to do with the south. It is my opinion that every patriot and every Christian in the U. S. ought to use all the legitimate means in his power to enlighten each other, and the southern States on this subject. It was slavery that subverted the liberties of Greece and Rome, by its corrupting influence, and by working on the fears of the masters of the world, so as to induce them to surrender the power of the State into the hands of Dictators, and if America does not abolish slavery, slavery will, it is to be feared, sink the liberties of America. There are many ways in which slavery is now working to effect this object, which are too obvious to require to be dwelt upon, or even to be named.

I love America, for her Bible, Tract, and Temperance Societies; for the Missionary spirit which pervades her churches; and for the excellent Missionaries she has sent forth to the heathen; and it is because I love her, and wish to see all the good in her perpetuated, that I wish to see all the good men in the United States combining all their energies in one way or another, to get rid of the curse of slavery, that is now threatening the integrity of your union, and the spirit of religion and liberty among your people. From the progress of civil society in your country, it would be contrary to all the principles of analogy, to suppose that slavery can be of long continuance in it, and there are two ways only by which it can be terminated, and my love to the United States, the influence your national prosperity or adversity is likely to exercise on the future condition of the human race, makes me anxious that it should terminate in the only way that can save your country from the consequences I deprecate by the continuance of this greatest of all evils.

I have not seen any argument or statement to convince me that the Congress is so utterly helpless, as not to be able to do any thing towards the removal of this calamity. The laws of the General Government, are not like those of the ancient Medes and Persians, that were never to be changed. The difficulty appears to me to be with the members of that Government, and of the different Legislators of the Union. Laws are very pliable things when nations have a ground to change them; any part of the Constitution can be altered, if two-thirds of the Congress or if the separate Legislators will, and their will is sanctioned by three-fourths of the people; and the measure of the inclinations of the people, or of the government, is not to be the measure of our duty.

Every thing must have a beginning,—and the beginnings of the best thing the world ever saw, have been very small; and if your resources—if the talents and piety you possess in the United States are vigorously employed in the great work, I cannot for a moment be doubtful with respect to the results. If others are doing the work in a wrong way, there is more need that those who see their errors, and can do better, should step forward, and take it out of their hands. When Wilberforce and Buxton began their labors in their different departments in the British House of Commons, they had scarcely a tithe of the members of that House upon their side, and the country speaking generally, regarded the question with indifference; but they persevered in their exertions, year after year, till the country was aroused and became enlightened, and till they obtained their object by majorities in the Commons. The same course is open to the friends of humanity in the United States, and their efforts will, I doubt not, be attended with similar effects.

There are some kinds of agitation to be condemned, but our fears of agitation may be carried to excess. Paul says "It is good to be zealously affected always in a good cause." The elements of truth and of falsehood cannot come into contact without agitation. The apostles and reformers, and the fathers of American Independence, were the greatest agitators the world ever saw. The abolition of slavery in the United States, will, no doubt, be a work of time; but time without exertion will not bring the remedy to save you from the disasters with which slavery is now threatening the country. Call the proceeding by what name you may, if the south is slow to propose a remedy, the north ought to supply the deficiency, and to help the south forward in the work. It is curious that a man like General Jackson, whatever his views of the morality of the slavery question may be, should not have thought of delivering the country from the danger of a surplus revenue, which he seems so much to dread, by removing the surplus revenue, the danger the country is in from slavery, and by this means, to get rid of both dangers at once.

What a subject for the talent of Dr. Beecher! The honor and future well being of America in all coming generations, require that efficient measures should be adopted to bring slavery to a speedy and safe termination. There is, I allow, a vast difference between the state of England and that of the United States. We had not to deal with slavery at our own fire-side, as you have; but this very circumstance, which places the deadly disease nearer to your hearts than it was to ours, makes your danger the greater, and makes it the more necessary that speedy and vigorous exertions should be made to subdue it. Whatever may be said of the disadvantage of your situation, I do not see that those disadvantages call for a different mode of treatment. The victory in one case, as in the other, must be gained by the influence of truth over the

public; but while the truth should be spoken in love, it must be spoken, if it is to be of any use to the world, and the world is to be saved by it. One truth may save a nation—and by respect of one truth, a nation may be lost. Let your citizens have this one truth impressed upon their minds—the hope of America can never be realized, but by the abolition of slavery—and the United States will be saved. Let them cherish a contrary feeling, and her union, in spite of herself will become a rope of sand, and in the past history of Europe, the United States may read her own future history.

After what I have said, it is scarcely necessary for me to say you have certainly mistaken my views as to the influence the preaching the Gospel may have on this question in the southern States. I cannot conceive that a man can preach the Gospel with any measure of success, without its producing an ameliorating influence on the condition of the slaves; but we meet with many hundreds of such men, who profess to unite their belief of the Gospel with the lawfulness of slavery. In heathen countries, and in countries under the influence of false religion, we have first to labor to bring men to faith in Christ; but in attempting to convert men to God, who from their infancy have made a profession of the Christian faith, without having felt its power, we have to contrast their principles with their practice, and we cannot do this without teaching them to renounce every thing incompatible with the spirit and design of the Gospel.

The application of the above remarks are too obvious to require to be dwelt upon. But the southern States have never been without the preaching of the Gospel. Slavery found its way into these southern States in opposition to the Gospel which was then amongst the people, and it maintains its ground in defiance of the preaching of the Gospel. It is true, the first settlers of these States made a noble resistance against the introduction of slavery among them, when the British Government forced upon them in spite of their remonstrances, this fatal bequest, but their descendants who have come to reconcile the Gospel, and slavery are not likely to have their prejudices in favor of slavery removed by a kind of preaching under which those prejudices have arrived at their present maturity.

Nothing certainly should be done inconsistent with the Spirit of the Gospel; but, to say that nothing should be done to accomplish this object beyond what is usually styled, preaching the Gospel, sounds too much like the opinion of those who think that nothing should be done at all, and that things should be left to go on as they have been doing. It is a considerable period since many of the slave proprietors of our Colonies discovered, that Christianity and slavery were incompatible with each other, and on this principle they demanded, or secretly opposed the Christian instruction of the slaves. Has not the same discovery been made in some of your southern States, and has not a similar result followed? And can the Christians of the United States, be silent under such circumstances, and can they see such a state of things in any section of the Union, and allow the authority of Christ to be trampled under foot, by men calling themselves Christians, and not fit up their testimony against such proceedings? Any experience of slavery I have had in a slave colony, and that has not been small, has brought me to think with the slave proprietors who are of opinion that Christianity and slavery are incompatible with each other; but if we agree in this conclusion, we differ widely as to the inferences to be deduced from it.

Slavery under heathen governments, before the time the Roman Government adopted the Christian religion, and decreed that it should be the law of the empire, and slavery under governments, professing Christian governments, have assumed different aspects, and appear as if they were not equally the same thing. The infamy of forbidding slaves, as slaves, Christian instruction, has been confined to countries in which Christianity has been the professed religion of the State. It was remarked as the filling up of the measure of the iniquities of the Jews, that they forbade that the Gospel should be preached to the Gentiles, and if there is any truth in the Bible, the punishment of any people who imitate the Jews in this instance, in forbidding any one of their fellow creatures from being instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, cannot be long delayed. In colonies in which slavery obtains, I do not see how a minister of the Gospel can inculcate upon his hearers, that it is their duty, to love their neighbors as themselves, to do to others as they would be done by; and that they that name the name of Christ, are to depart from all iniquity, and not come into collision with those that maintain the lawfulness of slavery and uphold the system with the abuses inseparable from it.

I admit that the Gospel accompanied by the agency of the Spirit, is the only instrument to which we can look with any confidence for the termination of slavery. It was the Gospel by its immediate, and mediate influence which abolished slavery in former times, and it was by the power of the Gospel on the people of Britain, that the Legislature was compelled to abolish the slavery of our colonies; but in all the cases to which I have referred, Christians attest as well as preached. Our religion must embody itself in action, as it will do nothing for the world, and I doubt not, but that the power of the Gospel in the United States, soon to all that is necessary, by the blessing of God, to banish the greatest of evils from among you. I am sorry that our friends in the United States, should have had occasion to complain of our unwillingness to allow to the free States the credit to which they are entitled for what they have done towards the abolition of slavery, and of the indiscriminate manner in which, as a nation, you have been answered on this head. But this evil is confined to a few only, and there are among us many who are looking with a deep and tender interest at your present struggle, and who regard the progress of this question amongst you, with an intensity of feeling not inferior to that experienced by your own countrymen, who are most alive to its importance. This is not a question which concerns the United States only; the interest which it involves are commensurate with those of the world, and they will be lasting as the ages of Eternity; on the decision of this question the destinies of the United States, and the character of that influence she is in future to exercise over those of the world are suspended; and that this is the view taken of it by the despots of the earth, as well as by the friends of the human race all over the world, is obvious enough to render any formal proofs of it superfluous.

I know of nothing that would operate more powerfully on the fears of those in Europe, who look at the increase and consolidation of the Republic of the United States, and the influence which it is likely to have on the world, than the intelligence that you had followed the example of Britain and redeemed the slaves.

The great question of American Independence, was of secondary importance compared to this, because had its advocates failed in their object at the Revolution, in the ordinary course of things it could not have been much longer deferred; but if the spirit of liberty in the United States shall be corrupted and extinguished by the spirit of slavery, whence are we to look for her future regeneration as a country?

The importance of the subject, and the deep interest I feel in it, must be my apology for this long and desultory letter.

Praying that God in his infinite mercy, may deliver your beloved countrymen from the greatest of all evils, and raise up the United States, to take the lead of other nations, in what remains to be done, to extend the Kingdom of Christ and improve the condition of the human race.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,
JOHN PHILLIPS.

From the (Upper Canada) Christian Guardian.
Interesting Correspondence.

The first of the two following communications is taken from the Rochester Democrat, in which paper it appeared in the form of an advertisement, cordially inviting a person, who had taken refuge under the wing of the British government, to return to the state of unrequited bondage in which he had been privileged to live upwards of twenty years in the boasted "land of the free." Appended to it is the reply of the newly self-emancipated man, who, considering the opportunities which he has enjoyed, is a person of unusual intelligence and good sense. As the late master is ingenious or politic enough to give so good a recommendation as to character and ability, it is to be hoped that he will be duly influenced by the appeal made to his sense of justice, and furnish the means of restoring to the long-injured man, his wife and child, who are free persons, resident in Baltimore.

We are requested to say that the Rochester Democrat, will confer a favor on Mr. Roberts, by inserting his reply, and sending a copy to Mr. Stockton in Baltimore.

Under the belief that my coadjutor, John Roberts, a colored man, was, during my absence on Wednesday last, induced from my service, in the city of Rochester, this is

to inform him, if he be desirous of returning, he will be kindly received, and treated as heretofore. He has a family in Baltimore, and has been in my service for upwards of twenty years, and has sustained an excellent character for integrity, stability and sobriety—and unimpaired by the persecutions of supposed friends, I am sure would not have thus acted. If he should decide not to return, I hereby recommend him as a superior coachman, for two or four horses.

R. C. STOCKTON, of Baltimore.
July 3d, 1837.

I shall be in the neighborhood of Ghent, for perhaps a fortnight should he apply after that time, there will be means provided for his return to Baltimore.

ANSWER.
"Toronto, Upper Canada, July 8, 1837."

Sir—I have seen in the Rochester Democrat of the 4th of July, your publication inviting me again to assume the bonds of a Slave. And can you think, that I would voluntarily relinquish Freedom, fully secured to me by the British Government, to return to American Slavery, the vilest that now crushes man and defies God? Is this the appreciation you have of Liberty? If so, I value it more highly. No, Sir,—dear to me as are the thoughts of my wife and child, I cannot again become a slave, if this be the price at which I must purchase the enjoyment of my society. For them would I freely expend my life—but to become a slave again!—no, never. To ask it is an insult to the spirit of Liberty; to the Dignity of human nature, to that heaven-born Religion you profess.

You say that "with an excellent character for integrity, stability, and sobriety," I have served you "upwards of twenty years!" And does this expenditure of my prime manhood entitle me to no reward in my declining years? Send me, then, my wife—my child. Disproportioned as would be the cost of doing this, to the value of the services I have rendered you, 'tis all I ask; it shall be your full acquittance. From one who feels any thing of the power of the Religion you profess—or who has any touch of humanity, or any regard for justice, I could not ask less, nor would he think of performing less.

You seem to doubt the sincerity of the friends by whose aid I have been enabled to achieve my liberty. How has the habit of oppression warped your judgment, and dulled your sensibilities—that you should suspect the motives of those who strike from the helpless slave his long-worn chains! Take it to yourself—what would you think of the friendship of him who, at the hazard of all things, should deliver you or your child from Moorish or Algerine bondage? Would you be so ungrateful as to suspect his motives, when you were a beggar in all things but in thanks! No; you would not. And you would feel a generous indignation, too, against the frozen-hearted trader who would persuade you to suspect his sincerity. If you should ever be so unfortunate as to be in slavery, may you find those who will deliver you as I have been delivered; who will make you as I am made, a FREEMAN. Then you will acknowledge their worth, and know how to honor their friendship.

Farewell, sir,—may you enjoy the happiness of those who strive to make others happy.

JOHN ROBERTS.

[We have just received a letter from Mr. Gerritt Smith, in which he speaks of the above case in these words—"You will be pleased to hear that I drew up an instrument for him (Mr. Stockton) to sign, by the terms of which he fully emancipates the fugitive slave I refer to at the top of this page; and that he cheerfully signed it. I have written to my friend Bidwell in Toronto, to tell the poor fugitive what I have got for him, and to ask him to come to Peterboro.' I shall send him to Baltimore, to bring his free wife and child, if he wishes to have them with him."]

[Ed. Phil.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

MISSISSAUGA, STARK COUNTY, May 17, 1837.

Friend Bailey:—

I send you a continuation of scraps from my Note Book. After visiting the colored people of Jefferson co., I proceeded on to Columbiana. In this county there are two small settlements, besides several scattering families. The first that I visited was near Salem. I found it a very industrious, quiet, honest neighborhood—doing very well, so far as getting a living is concerned. But without giving my impressions, I will introduce one of their neighbors, who shall speak for them. In a conversation with Joseph Brooks, Esq., a lawyer in Salem, he made the following remarks.

"The colored people in this vicinity are in better credit than the same number of whites of equal property. One of our merchants, (not an abolitionist,) said that a colored stranger would get trusted at his store sooner than a white one."

Speaking of Temperance among them, he said, "they were more temperate than the whites of the same property."

Of their industry, he said, "it was good, with one or two exceptions."

Of their honesty, he said, "but one man had been found guilty of petty larceny within the last five years."

Of their oath, he said, "I would as soon take it under the same circumstances as that of the whites. In cases that have occurred in law, I have noted that the statement, first made by the colored man, is almost uniformly established by testimony—that there is less prevarication on their part than on the part of the whites. This I have often remarked to those who stood by."

In answer to a question whether he had ever known a colored man to lose property by our unequal laws, he answered, "I have known cases of the kind. One in which a colored man had his horse shot, and colored people saw it done, but their testimony could not be admitted; of course no damages could be had. Another case where an employer refused to pay a laborer, &c., &c. In such cases there is no redress!"

Ques. Do you think there is any necessity for laws to distinguish between colored and white people?

"I do not think there is any such necessity: for such laws operate equally against both—destroying the love of justice in the white, and the love of country in the black."

Of education, he said, "they were quite anxious to obtain it—often apply here for admittance to our schools."

Of course, they are not admitted.

"They all pay taxes, most of them school-tax and all."

The exception in our statutes is seldom observed. They all own personal property, and several of them farms."

I visited some of them—looked dinner with John White. He is a farmer, worth \$1200; owns 50 acres of land, 2 horses, 15 head of cattle, 25 sheep; 8 hogs. Also called on James Holliday, worth \$500, owns 23 1-2 acres of land, 10 head of cattle, 15 hogs—was a slave till 50 years of age—has been free 47 years.

From Salem I went to Lexington, a small settlement in the corner of this county and Stark. The following statement was furnished me by a merchant of Mt. Union, who lives two miles from the settlement. It was procured by a committee appointed for the purpose:

"In the settlement are 51 families, numbering 284 individuals, 14 of whom have been slaves,—altogether owning 1800 acres of land, valued at \$29,200—70 horses, valued at \$2,800—213 head of cattle, valued at \$2,556—328 sheep, valued at \$956, farming utensils, and other articles, valued at \$4,336; amounting in all to \$39,445."

"Two school-houses, one meeting-house—one Sunday school, with a library of 120 vols., about 100 church members, four ministers of the gospel. No quarrelling or fighting at all. Not one case of theft since the settlement commenced, sixteen years ago!"

One family was bought by the father, for whom he paid

\$1700. One man bought a sister for whom he paid 100 dollars.

They had a school during the winter, and now have two, taught by abolition females.

I need not add the usual testimony of character, &c., for by this time you will see their standing in the community. I have visited them twice, and spent several days amongst them, partaking of their hospitality, and so far as I am able to judge, they are, in all essential characteristics, very fine men, very peaceable citizens, and very good neighbors. Yet by this I do not mean that they are in every particular, exactly like white men, who have been brought up under different circumstances—any more than when speaking of Germans as men, I would wish to be understood as representing them in all their habits of thinking and acting, of farming and domestic economy, exactly like the English—yet I might say that they were men, very fine men, very industrious, very trustworthy, &c. Different classes of men, have different habits of thinking and speaking—of feeling and acting; and no one but a goose would expect them to be alike. If it be true circumstances make men, then it may be true also that circumstances unmake them. If the white man is surrounded by circumstances favorable to the perfect development of all his faculties, it is but reasonable that he should be superior to the black man, who is under less favorable circumstances. I suppose if any class of white men could be selected from their neighbors, and made the object of special legislation—of universal ridicule and contempt—deprived of legal protection, both for their persons and property, and finally proclaimed aliens, and not suffered to have any interest in the government of the country,—their spirit would sink—their heart would faint within them, and they would be left to wander like strangers in a strange land—without hope—without energy—without enterprise. And all this would be far more unbearable, if, in addition, they were denied access to all the doors of literature and science. Yet all this is true of the colored man; and much more might be added without reaching the boundary line. For, let but the kindlings of hope begin to show their light, and the savage hand of the white man applies the extinguisher. Witness the assault of the teacher of a colored school in Brown county, and the burning of the school-house; and also Mr. Patterson's speech in the Legislature last winter, in which he says, "It is with the utmost difficulty that the lovers of order in my district, can restrain the mobocracy from a universal massacre of the blacks." Now, the "mobocracy," means, I suppose, the "gentlemen of property and standing" in Mr. P.'s district—his constituents, whose sentiments, he advocated, and whose will he spoke.

When it is asserted that the colored people of this state are degraded, let it be remembered what has made them so. Let it be remembered that a legislator of Ohio declared of his constituents, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could be restrained from a universal massacre of those in their neighborhood. This state of feeling amongst the whites has its influence on the blacks, who live in a constant dread and fear, which paralyzes all their powers, and reduces them in effort to the feebleness of childhood. Alas for America! Has it come to this, in the free state of Ohio!—that a few poor, defenceless, harmless, friendless colored people, must be attacked by the ferocious Americans for no other reason than their inability to protect themselves! Has Ohio no honor, no justice, no benevolence, no generosity, no chivalry, no care for her good name! Will she look calmly on and witness the massacre of the innocents—or, worse, will she coolly stain her hand in the life's blood of her children, by taking away from them that universally omnipotent shield of innocence—THE LAW!

In this village and vicinity there are several families of colored people, most of them doing very well, and they are highly esteemed by their white neighbors. This is the only village that I know of, where colored children are admitted without opposition into the district schools. From conversation with several gentlemen, I did not learn that the colored people were looked upon differently from white people of the same character. More anon.

Your fellow laborer,
Augustus WATKINS.

Public Meeting.

Formation of the Fall-Creek Anti-Slavery Society.

A meeting of the citizens of Fall-Creek Township and vicinity, was held agreeably to public notice, in the Baptist Meeting House in Pendleton, on the 8th day of July, 1837.

The meeting was organized by calling Doctor Corydon Richmond to the chair, and appointing John J. Lewis, Secretary.

The object of the meeting was explained by the Rev. N. Richmond in an appropriate address.

On motion, Dr. Edwin Fassett, Rev. N. Richmond and Joseph Weeks, were appointed to report a series of resolutions, which, after withdrawing some time, reported the following:

Resolved, That the liberty of the press, the right of free discussion and the right of petition, ought to be maintained inviolate.

Resolved, That as slavery is a great and awful national evil—a sin against Heaven, it interests all mankind, and should claim the active attention of every human being whose heart is moved by feelings of philanthropy and religion, and especially of all the inhabitants of the United States.

Resolved, That immediate emancipation is not only practicable, but safe, and right.

Resolved, That it is proper to use our best endeavors to prevent the annexation of Texas to the American Union as it would be impolitic and productive of a great extension of human misery.

Which were considered separately and unanimously adopted.

A motion was made and seconded, that a committee be appointed to report a Constitution to be adopted in the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society; which motion being concurred in. Dr. E. Fassett, N. Richmond and N. Hardy, were appointed, who reported a Constitution which was adopted; and

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report the form of a remonstrance against the admission of Texas into the American Union.

Neal Hardy, Solomon Fassett, and Dr. Edwin Fassett, were appointed, who reported the form of a remonstrance which was adopted, and one hundred copies ordered to be printed and circulated for signatures.

On motion, S. Fassett, Joseph Weeks and Isaac Wright, were appointed a committee to nominate suitable persons to fill the offices of President, Vice President, Recording and Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer; who reported as follows:

President, Rev. Nathaniel Richmond; Vice Presidents, Walter Kinsman, Daniel Lyson, and Neal Hardy; Recording Secretary, Dr. Corydon Richmond; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Edwin Fassett; Treasurer, William Williams—who were severally elected.

On motion, Resolved, That the Society instruct their Corresponding Secretary, to write to the Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, enclosing the amount of our subscriptions, and directing books and periodicals to be

sent to be forwarded, such as are most suitable to our situation.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be offered for publication in the Emancipator, National Enquirer, and Philanthropist, and together with the Constitution, in the Indiana Journal and Western Telegraph.

Attest,
J. J. LEWIS, Secretary.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, AUGUST 4, 1837.

Notice.

The Senior Editor has received several invitations to lecture in different places, since his return from the East. He wishes earnestly that he could comply with all of them. This he will be unable to do. He has been elected one of the Secretaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Should he conclude to accept—which it is probable he will consider it his duty to do—he will require some two or three weeks previously to his removal to New-York in September, to adjust his own private concerns. Under these circumstances his A. S. friends will find a sufficient excuse for his not accepting for the present, any invitations to lecture in their respective neighborhoods beside those he has already accepted.

Anti-Slavery Reading Room.

At the A. S. Office, Corner of Sixth and Main (upstairs) there is kept a Reading Room, supplied with a large number of the latest newspapers, Journals and Periodicals.—Our Anti-Slavery friends—also those who differ with us—are invited to come and peruse them at their convenience, without charge.

PETITIONS AGAINST THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—

AND IN FAVOR OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. The work goes bravely on.—Already have our city-agents obtained nearly, if not quite, Two Thousand petitioners. They have a petition for the latter object in the German language, to which they have a large number of signers. Nearly all the foreigners among us—especially the artless Germans—are abolitionists, till they become infected with the slavery-spirit that is to be found among ourselves.

"Miss Beecher on the Slave Question."

When, during our recent peregrinations, we first saw and read this little book, it seemed to us to be a duty that we owed to the cause of Truth and Humanity, to expose at some length—if no one else would—its singular errors, weaknesses and misstatements. And this we could not have done in very honest phrase, if we had measured our words by the very mischievous tendency of the work.—Whilst the whole *engineery* was evidently of the Lilliputian structure, it seemed not badly proportioned; whilst close examination disclosed innumerable cracks and flaws, they were not unskillfully varnished over; whilst its subtlety bespoke for it the reputation of the "low" pressure, it seems to have been constructed after the most mischievous "high" pressure models.

But we have rather declined from our first resolution.—We begin to attach to this little *hand grenade* not quite so much importance as we did when first we saw its lighted fuse streaming in the air. We have witnessed its explosion, and find, with great joy, that the citadel of Humanity has not suffered all the damage that was intended. Our notices of it, therefore, will, in all probability, be only occasional and brief. We are the more easily reconciled to this course, inasmuch as Angelina E. Grimké, is now engaged, (in a series of numbers being published in the Liberator,) in exposing in a manner so effectual, as almost to excite the commiseration even of those who have been assailed by Miss B., the deformities and the nakedness of her book. We might safely confide to her this whole task. But it would be discourteous in us, to pass by, altogether unnoticed, an Author, who is our near neighbor—whose work is on a subject on which we have had something particular to do; and who, it would seem, from its "tout ensemble," cherished a desire of no single day's growth, to hear the sound of her own voice in the great Anti-Slavery locomotive that now agitates the nation, how little soever that voice might enlighten others.

But, lest our discourse become tedious, we proceed to exhibit a specimen of our author's taste and skill, in its own proper dress. It is taken from a bill of fare of no contemptible length—intended to prove beyond the reach of gainsayers, "that the character and measures of the abolition society are not either peaceful or Christian in tendency; but [that] they are in their nature calculated to generate party spirit, denunciation, recrimination, and angry passions."—It will be found, in accuracy of statement and reasoning, so fair a sample of the whole, that we may repeat, when speaking of it, the words which the poet long ago prepared for all like cases—

—ab uno
"Disce omnes."

"Take another case. It was deemed expedient by abolitionists, to establish an abolition paper, first in Kentucky, a slave state. It was driven from that state either by violence or by threats. It retreated to Ohio, one of the free states. In selecting a place for its location, it might have been established in a small place, where the people were of similar views, or were not exposed to dangerous excitements. But Cincinnati was selected; and when the most intelligent, the most reasonable, and the most patriotic of the citizens remonstrated,—when they represented that there were peculiar and unusual liabilities to popular excitement on the subject,—that the power and organization of the police made it extremely dangerous to excite a mob, and almost impossible to control it,—that all the good aimed at could be accomplished by locating the press in another place, where there were not such dangerous liabilities,—when they kindly and respectfully urged these considerations, they were disregarded." Page 32—3

We will take this singular passage to pieces; that we may have a more distinct view of the several imprudences it records.

1. Abolitionists establish a paper in a slave state.—Now, we would not do so great injustice to our author's good common sense, as to suppose that she would object to the paper itself as a useful weapon in the projected warfare.—But it was established in a slave state. This was the imprudent step. Now, what could abolitionists better have done, to meet the unbalanced, the unchristian taunt of their pro-slavery opponents—"why don't you go to the South,"—a taunt too, which our author seems not altogether reluctant to repeat—than to set up their standard in the face of the slaveholders! Yet, no sooner is this done, than it is made matter of complaint,—it is neither "peaceful or Christian." Well, when on being expelled from the South, "by violence or by threats," it retreats to a free state, still our watchful enemies and ground of oburgation reluctant to repeat—than to set up their standard in the face of the slaveholders! Yet, no sooner is this done, than it is made matter of complaint,—it is neither "peaceful or Christian." Well, when on being expelled from the South, "by violence or by threats," it retreats to a free state, still our watchful enemies and ground of oburgation reluctant to repeat—than to set up their standard in the face of the slaveholders! Yet, no sooner is this done, than it is made matter of complaint,—it is neither "peaceful or Christian." Well, when on being expelled from the South, "by violence or by threats," it retreats to a free state, still our watchful enemies and ground of oburgation reluctant to repeat—than to set up their standard in the face of the slaveholders! Yet, no sooner is this done, than it is made matter of complaint,—it is neither "peaceful or Christian." Well, when on being expelled from the South, "by violence or by threats," it retreats to a free state, still our watchful enemies and ground of oburgation reluctant to repeat—than to set up their standard in the face of the slaveholders! Yet, no sooner is this done, than it is made matter of complaint,—it is neither "peaceful or Christian." Well, when on being expelled from the South, "by violence or by threats," it retreats to a free state, still our watchful enemies and ground of oburgation reluctant to repeat—than to set up their standard in the face of the slaveholders! Yet, no sooner is this done, than it is made matter of complaint,—it is neither "peaceful or Christian." Well, when on being expelled from the South, "by violence or by threats," it retreats to a free state, still our watchful enemies and ground of oburgation reluctant to repeat—than to set up their standard in the face of the slaveholders! Yet, no sooner is this done, than it is made matter of complaint,—it is neither "peaceful or Christian." Well, when on being expelled from the South, "by violence or by threats," it retreats to a free state, still our watchful enemies and ground of oburgation reluctant to repeat—than to set up their standard in

not exposed to dangerous popular excitement." Now, gentle reader, would it ever have entered your head, relying on this passage, that what ought to have been done, according to our author's notions of right, was done—that depending on "Miss Beecher on the Slave Question," as a trustworthy chronicler of all the necessary facts of the case, especially as she was engaged in fault-finding—you could have dreamed that the editor's bump of candourness got the better of his bump of courage, and that the aforesaid paper, (the Philanthropist) was not only first published, and continued to be published for months; at New Richmond,—"a small place"—"where [many] of the people were of similar views,"—and where, from their moral character and orderly demeanor, they were not "exposed to dangerous popular excitement." Yet every word of this is true, although no part of it is to be found in the historical registry of "Miss B. on the slave question." But leaving this—

3. "Cincinnati was selected." And what place, we ask, ought to have been selected in preference, for the discussion of a great national question—one which, according to our author, may lead, if it be improperly conducted, to the dissolution of the Union, to "countless horrors," to "wailings," and "agonies," and "wo!" Is she not styled the "LITERARY EMPORIUM OF THE WEST?" Does she not sit, the self-baptized "QUEEN OF THE WEST?" Has she not her many noble edifices dedicated to Education, and filled with its ministers? Has she not her splendid temples for Christian worship—one, at least, to every thousand of her population? And does she not abound almost to surplusage, with citizens who, according to Miss B., are the "most intelligent, the most reasonable and the most patriotic?" Surely, of all the places that could be thought of in the West, Cincinnati possessed the most peculiar recommendations for the entertainment of this subject, that has, although at a late hour, called out the handsome talents of Miss Beecher. It has within it, according to her account, the "intelligent," to discern the truth, and to detect fallacy, the "reasonable," to receive the truth with candor, and the "patriotic," to carry out its commands in action.

But these same "most intelligent, most reasonable, most patriotic citizens, remonstrated," with the Editor first, and afterward with the Executive Committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society,—against what? Against the use of a right that God has conferred on our NATURE,—a right that the Constitution has exalted to the highest dignity, by declaring it "Indisputable,"—the right of the "citizen to speak, write, or print on any subject as he thinks proper"—a right without which Freedom is but a phantom; and against which Tyranny has ever aimed its deadliest assaults. It would have been equally commendable in these intelligent, reasonable and patriotic citizens, to have remonstrated with those gentlemen against their using their own personal property, or occupying their own houses—for these subjects of property can be held by no title stronger than one derived from God, and fortified by the most solemn human enactments.

Again—"they represented that there were peculiar and unusual liabilities on this subject." And well they might; after the peculiar and unusual pains that they themselves had expended, to stir it up. Was our author always ignorant, or has she forgotten the origin of, the "popular excitement?" Let her look to the daily journals of this city, of January 23, 1836. She will there see that FETTERED—the very elite of this "intelligent, reasonable, and patriotic" corps, called a public meeting; that, in this meeting the abolitionists were vilipended and stigmatized by every name—the vilest that vulgar malice could supply, or vulgar eloquence belch forth—that, the multitude were inflamed, to a high degree, by these same "reasonable and patriotic citizens"—so much so, that one of the abolitionists, to whom permission had been graciously given to speak in behalf of his friends, was put down by the most furious, unmanly, and unrestrained clamor; she will further see, in the proceedings of that meeting, a stinging of fawning resolutions, passed to win favor from our "neighbors of the South," and to appease the grim Spirit of Slavery—among them one, by which it will appear that those "very noble and approved good masters" claimed, as subject to their guardianship, not only the city, but that they extended their paternal surveillance even to the "small place" where the Philanthropist was then being published, and where the "people were of similar views" with "the one" who controlled the paper.

But, "the organization and power of the police made it extremely dangerous to excite a mob, and almost impossible to control it." It is not at all unlikely that the organization of the police will always be found ineffectual for the protection of the weak, and the preservation of the peace, when the Head of it, and a large portion of the Tail, too, are looked upon as conniving at, if not actually encouraging to outrage: when they are seen mingling with the frantic rioters without making one effort to stay the work of violence; and, at midnight persuading them to a cessation of their orgies, by commending, in a set language, the admirable discrimination with which they had been conducted. Nor are we at all disposed to controvert the position, that the "power" of a mob will ever be "extremely dangerous," when the "most intelligent, the most reasonable, and the most patriotic of the citizens," are seen holding this same mob in the leash—goaded them up to the boiling point of phrenzy, and then crying "Havoc! and letting slip the dogs of war!" All this is very natural, and just what might be expected.

Again,—these same worthy citizens, in the remonstrance, urged,—that "all the good aimed at, could be accomplished by locating the press in another place." Admirable, truly! Most fraternal advice—yea, parental!—Surely, the abolitionists must have been in reality, the fanatics they were, at that time, thought by an overwise aristocracy to be—the obstinately billy and dogged incendiaries they were then scolded at for being, not to drink in, with a most grateful smack of the lips, this most friendly advice, from the most amicable of enemies. They were contending for the practical establishment of the great democratic, yea, Christian truths, (now almost overgrown and stifled by slavery), that all men are created equal—are entitled to liberty—to the pursuit of happiness—to the protection of the laws—to security in their domestic relations—to the society of their wives—to the care and services, and superintendence of their own offspring,—and to the proper rewards of their own toil. And yet—guilty enthusiasts!—they could not forget, whilst their enemies were offering them all the "good they aimed at," the words of the Trojan priest—

"Dona carere dolis Danaum,"
—dimno Danaos et dona ferentes;
they would not, even with a prospect of achieving so much, and with so great ease to themselves, to the advice of these "most intelligent, most reasonable, and most patriotic," and—might be added—most pious citizens, (for many of them were preachers and church members) who had, in substance, publicly "Resolved,"

"That the resolution referred to is in these words:—'Resolved, That this meeting will exert every lawful effort [yea, what is a lawful effort to put down the press?] to suppress the publication of any abolition paper in this city or its environs.'"

That one human being might justly hold another as property—that Slavery exists by the sanction of the Constitution—that our Franklin assisted in making, and that it was to exist perpetually with it—that efforts to abolish it were, if not irretrievable, highly revolutionary,—that they approved of "prompt and efficient legislation," to stop the discussion of it whenever a proper occasion called for such interposition—that slavery ought not to be expelled by the Constitutional power of Congress, from the District of Columbia—that the slave's shambles there ought not to be closed, but that they should continue to expose men, women, children, as commodities for sale, within sound of the very voice of our public servants, indulging their baseless descants on Liberty and Equality—that our Capitol ought not to be cleansed from the increasing defilements of the multiplying human hecatombs, whose mingled blood and tears besprinkle its stones, and whose groans are borne on every breeze that kisses the star-spangled banner floating at its dome. Surely this was the very climax of absurdity in the abolitionists, and a page or two of "Miss Beecher on the Slave Question" is most profitably dedicated to handing it down to the latest posterity, that they may chuckle over this record of our folly.

But, what most seems to raise the marvel of our author is the fact, that notwithstanding the foregoing considerations were kindly and respectfully urged, "they were disregarded." That her astonishment is unaffected, we can easily conceive: for, in our perambulations thus far thro' life, we have met with not a few—and these few not always in the meanest ranks, nor of the most vulgar attainments—who judge of acts, not by their quality, but by the "quality" of the actors; who would condemn off-hand to the gallows, the democratic ruffian, who, impelled by the hot haste of his wants, should assault your person, and wrest from you your purse—whilst they would look on it as "passing strange," that a remonstrance against your right of retaining your own purse, or enjoying its contents, addressed to you by the "most intelligent, the most reasonable, and the most patriotic of the citizens," accompanied with an assurance most "kindly and respectfully urged," that if it were not delivered up forthwith, you would be dealt with *secundum artem*,—should be considered as at all objectionable, or as worthy of being in any way resisted. Such persons would become the readiest converts to the doctrine, (if only the Aristocracy in the Church and in the State could be persuaded to set up for footpads, so that the community might have ample assurance that the plunder of the passers-by would be "respectfully urged" and "kindly" executed,) that the trade of highway robbery was quite respectable, and that any objection to being robbed, according to the best established, the most approved and polite forms of the "Craft," could proceed from nothing but rustic obstinacy and sheer stubbornness, and that all rebuke of the robbers was to be set down as *contra bonos mores*—as a clownish foray on the good order of society—in fine, as any thing but "the quiet, peaceable and Christian way" of putting an end to the iniquity.

But we must stop—for, at this rate there is no telling to what lengths our author might lead us. The single paragraph we have been considering, (and full half of it remains untouched,) had we time, would give us an ample foundation on which we might construct a bigger, at least, if not a better book, than "Miss Beecher on the Slave Question." But we must dismiss the subject for the present, with the assurance, that we have first taken up this part of the book, not because it was the most agreeable to us, (for it is any thing else,) but because it dwells on an affair, in which we may say, with a hero of much larger dimensions than we profess to fill, "*quorum magna pars fuit*," an affair with which we were particularly conversant, and where we could best correct the errors in detail and reasoning into which the author has fallen, owing to a deficient acquaintance with many of the material parts of the transaction, and probably from the insinuating influence of a valued personal intercourse and social connexion with some of the parties concerned, and their near friends. Of the actors, themselves, we say—and we say it, not only because we can do so on good authority, but because we feel it pleasant to ourselves to say, and honorable to them to have it so said,—that the best of them have long since lamented any connexion into which they were drawn, with the disorders of the last year. They would not, it is thought, now venture their defence on the ground that the zealous friendship of Miss B. has taken, nor will they feel over-thankful to any volunteer for assuming it for them. Whatever may be the consequences, the history of this transaction must be handed down clear of all error or perversion—its true character must be transmitted to those who may succeed us, as a solemn memento of the folly of making war, under any circumstances, on the LIBERTY OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS.

And now, in conclusion—some may think we have used a roughness in our criticism, from which the sex of our author ought to have exempted her. We think very differently. We honor too highly the sex to which she belongs, to reiterate the silly compliments which all "CHIVALRY"—ancient and modern—of the sword and of the cow-skin—has so industriously used to keep them in their Doll-hood. We are radical enough to believe that Woman, in mental powers is naturally equal to the force-maid, self-styled "lords of the creation." We honor woman, by treating her in intellectual conflict, as an equal. If she appears, then, as the Amazonian Hypolyta, emerging from her fastnesses—or, as the "raging Penthesilea" armed with casque and buckler and battle-axe, carrying dismay and death into our hosts, we must meet her with such Hercules' and Ajaxes as our ranks can best supply.—If she appears, at the "joust" or the "tournament" locked up in steel—her lance couched—and her head covered with the visor and helmet of knighthood, she ought not, after dealing around her a few brave blows at the outset, to cry out, when fearful of being unhorsed, "*I'm of the weaker sex!*" or, if she think she have courage equal to the arena—with a "good sword" and strength and skill to make her way through all "impediments," she must not expect to have her bloody blows returned only with the "wooden" sword of the veteran gladiator; nor, if it should result in the cry, "*she has got it!*" from the spectators, is she to look for any other comfort than Norfolk gave to his royal master—

King Richard. "Norfolk, we must have knocks; Ha! must we not?"
Norfolk. "We must both give and take, my loving Lord."

The Chillicothe Presbytery.
We received the following communication, last week from a member of the Chillicothe Presbytery, who was also a member of the late General Assembly. We would gladly have published it in our last number, but our paper was nearly made up, when we received it. It is not our intention to enter into a discussion of the merits of the controversy between the Old and New Schools. We cannot become heated about the speculative parts of theology, any more than we can in those about the substance of the Sun. If any one profess to believe the Holy Scriptures, and show his sincerity by reverence for God and love to his fellow-man—by looking on the Messiah of God as his Lord and Master—he shows sufficient credentials for us to embrace him as a Christian brother. With the philosophy of his theology—with his speculations—we have but little party could have helped themselves. I see no kind of dif-

ference, New School men took them as cheerfully as the Old, and no doubt would very thankfully have taken all Solomon says, "Dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour." If the vote of both parties was protected by dead flies from the South, it would be a question worth solving, which were most degrading, those that came in support of truth, or those which came in aid and defence of error.

But we, "especially abolitionists, ought to have shown our zeal for orthodoxy by first expelling slaveholders." For once, I am not ashamed of my zeal for orthodoxy; nor am I at all ashamed to be known as an uncompromising abolitionist—and that I have been such for thirty years past; and I would not hesitate to expel every voluntary slaveholder, who would not repent and forsake his extortion and robbery of the poor slaves, as soon as the case would be properly before me. But it has been my misfortune to stand very much alone on that subject. Within two or three years past, the churches are beginning to wake up and take hold of the matter. Yet many, Old School and New School sleep on. Now, I deny, that I, as an Old School abolitionist, am culpable in the manner charged. I had it not in my power, nor had all the abolitionists in the Assembly the power to expel them. A large majority, made up of both parties, indiscriminately would have been against us. But the position taken by the junior Editor, appears to be this:—We must not discipline church members for minor offences, especially abolitionists, until we can turn out all the more gross offenders; that is, such men as deny original sin, the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and some other little peccadilloes found in our antiquated creed, should be spared, at least till slaveholders are ejected.

Doings of the General Assembly.

MESSRS. EDITORS:

You wish the discussion to cease, but it seems to me there are some remarks in your paper of the 14th instant, under the head "Melancholy Spectacle," requiring further explanation. You enquire "what are we to think of those who are their fellow laborers in this work; who cheerfully join with criminals to excommunicate errorists; who are so influenced by zeal for their creed, as to give the right hand of fellowship to those whose life is an habitual violation of natural right and the law of love, while they expel from their bosom men of pure morals and christian benevolence, because their doctrines and measures are not exactly such as are dictated by the letter of an ancient creed. If Old School Presbyterians from the free States, especially abolitionists, were animated by so pure a zeal for orthodoxy, their first business should have been to have ejected slaveholders from the Church, and not tacitly consented to the sin of slavery, by uniting with its supporters to cut off from Presbyterial fellowship." &c. It appears to me, a little more careful attention to some facts within our reach, would have saved the persons above alluded to from such a thrust. By a recurrence to facts, in the history of the contest between the Old and New School parties in the Church, for the last six or seven years, we see, that the Old School men in the free States, have from the beginning, always been the leaders in "zeal for orthodoxy." They were chiefly found to be leading men in the Synods of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and New Jersey, together with many from those of New York, Ohio, Cincinnati, &c., and have always been most active, and persevering in opposition to innovations in doctrine and church order, and they are the persons who have pressed charges, conducted prosecutions &c., against errorists in the church, connected with that controversy. It is also known, that the question of slavery has at no time been connected with it.—As it appears to me, this reason alone would have kept it out. It would have split each party into factions, about a subject foreign to the contest; and could have no salutary influence in settling the doctrinal disturbances of the Church.

I have no kind of objection, however, if you can prove that slaveholders from the South, and pro-slavery men from the free States, have sold themselves to do iniquity like Ahab, if you do so by fair proof, not by insinuation and by suspicion; yet it does appear to me, to be very absurd and improper, to suppose that the Old School men from the free States, composing nearly two thirds of the whole majority, and a number of them abolitionists, should all at once join with criminals, for the double purpose of purifying the church from doctrinal error, and for perpetuating slavery in the Presbyterian Church; and this is about the amount of the charge. We, you say, "cheerfully united with criminals who were foremost in the work of expurgation," &c.

One main fact of this attack upon Old School men of the free States, is, that they have become the mere tail of the majority, and that these "robbers from the South are now foremost in the work of expurgation." Hence, Mr. Plummer's sudden conversion from a New School man, to a prime Old School leader, is cited. I am greatly mistaken, if, upon examination, Plummer's New Schoolism and Lovejoy's Old Schoolism, be not found to be as a number of other things, based upon total mistake. Both statements are erroneous.

Had the question before the Assembly been decided by members from the free States alone, it would have stood about thus:—Upon the case of the Western Reserve, thirteen representatives being there to vote in their own case; New School ninety-two, Old School eighty-four. Now, we here see, pitted against each other, the real active and persevering parties, by whom the warfare has been almost exclusively carried on from the beginning, and now differing so very little in strength of number, that eight or nine votes would have made them equal. Where then, is the mighty wonder, that the Old School party, should have gained more than that number over their opponents, from the South, knowing as we do, that most of them are and have been Old School men.

It seems to be the great ground of complaint, that the Southern members came in greater numbers to the support of orthodoxy, than came in aid of New Schoolism; twelve or thirteen only flocking to their standard, while three or four times that number voted with the majority. Now, it seems to me very plain, that we of the free States, can have nothing to do with the division of the vote of slaveholders, between these contending parties—we can neither deserve praise or blame concerning it,—unless, indeed, they did offer themselves for sale, and we of the Old School outbid the New. As to their motives, some of them may have been bad, I know not,—that lies between them and their Maker.

But it seems, the majority had their good orthodox course taken; the vote of slaveholders, whose object was to perpetuate slavery,—and so was that of the minority, one of them (Rev. E. White) expressly voted for that object; what the views of the other dozen slaveholders were that voted with them, I have no means of knowing. Now, did either party "tacitly consent to the sin of slavery" by suffering slaveholders to vote as they pleased, and to join this party or that, as they chose? I know not how either party could have helped themselves. I see no kind of dif-

ference, New School men took them as cheerfully as the Old, and no doubt would very thankfully have taken all Solomon says, "Dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour." If the vote of both parties was protected by dead flies from the South, it would be a question worth solving, which were most degrading, those that came in support of truth, or those which came in aid and defence of error.

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Perhaps I shall be better understood by reference to my own case. I found myself provisionally called on to decide in a case which has been in progress for years; and increasing in interest and importance yearly. A crisis has come. The anxious concern and attention of all parties are deeply excited by the absorbing interest felt on the occasion. The case was regularly up on it. It must be decided. Suppose I am "animated by so pure a zeal for orthodoxy," that I should look upon it as a thing of vast importance to the souls of men, to guard the church from dangerous errors, just creeping into it. What would be my duty? It seems to me, I would do no less than I have done, decide it in the fear of God, upon the merits of the case as presented before me. Now, should I first have cast about to see if I should cast off some good abolitionist, or withhold my vote lest some unrighteous slaveholder should vote as I did, or refuse to take any measures to purge the church and prevent the spread of doctrinal error, lest there might be some great practical error in the church not eradicated? This would have been a kind of opinion which I have long discarded. I do not think it necessary to keep a host of errorists in the church, lest for want of their assistance, we should not be able to cast off some others of similar, or worse character. I have often been called a fanatic, perhaps I am one; but I confess, I would much rather trust the God of truth, whose cause I believe the Anti-Slavery cause is, than to trust to any such indirect expedients whatever.

NOTICES.

In accordance with a vote of the state society at its last Anniversary, we publish below the Treasurer's account from May 3d, 1836, to May 4th 1837.

Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in account with Wm. Donaldson, Treasurer.

EXPENDITURES.

From May 3d, 1836, to May 4th, 1837, inclusive.

MAY 6, 1836.

Paid A. Wattles for services as Agent, \$303 00

" do colored Schools of Cincinnati, 40 00

14, A. Pugh to buy Printing Press, 235 00

18, Expenses on paper from N. Y., 25 36

27, Cincinnati A. S. Soc. for Publications, 73 05

28, A. Pugh for Printing, &c., 124 40

30, Cincinnati A. S. Soc. for Publications, 52 00

JUNE 3, Postage, 25

4, A. Pugh for Printing Philanthropist, 53 13

11, do do do 48 95

22, Phillips & Spear for Paper, 203 00

" Paper for covers for report, 45 00

" A. Wattles Expenses office, 37 25

" A. Pugh for printing 1st Annual Rept., 100 00

" Insurance, 3 30

" A. Wattles, Office Expenses, 6 00

26, J. A. James for Binding Press, 8 00

" A. Pugh for printing pamphlets, 192 16

28, A. Wattles, Office Expenses, 60 30

JULY 2, A. Pugh, for printing Philanthropist, 48 55

6, Expenses on publications from N. Y., 17 75

9, A. Pugh, printing Philan. & circulars, 121 08

12, do do do 45 91

13, Candlesticks, &c., 1 56

14, A. Pugh, to deposit with the Mayor as a reward for the apprehension of individuals concerned in the destruction of Press, 100 00

16, A. Pugh for printing Phil. and Extra's, 62 00

19, M. R. Robinson for paper, 17 00

23, A. Pugh for printing Philanthropist and 2000 Addresses to the citizens of Cincinnati, 79 00

23, M. R. Robinson, Office Expenses, 8 61

" Merchandize, 2 00

29, Freight and charges on Publications, 14 88

30, A. Pugh for printing, per bill, 91 20

Aug. 9, M. R. Robinson, 65 08

12, N. Guilford, for repairing damages done to Press, by Mob, 50 00

16, C. Cropper for Binding pamphlets, 68 50

22, A. Pugh, for damages done by Mob, 63 00

27, A. Pugh, printing narrative of Cin. Mob, 30 00

30, C. K. Bushnell, for services as Agent, 10 00

SEPT. 3, Fisher, Armstrong, & Co. for paper, 90 75

" A. Pugh, for printing pamphlets, 25 00

5, D. C. Eastman, as lecturer, 10 00

" Phillips & Spear for paper, 42 75

9, A. Pugh for printing Pamphlets, 89 37

" Fisher, Armstrong, & Co. for paper, 42 50

10, Hitchcock for 10,000 Almanacks, 303 00

12, Postage, this month, 1 23

19, Freight and charges of paper, from N. Y., 19 01

" A. Pugh on an obligation to sustain his Printing office against damages by Mob, 200 00

26, C. K. Bushnell, 70 77

27, Albert Bushnell, selling A. S. Books, 12 00

OCT. 1, A. Pugh on obligation, 200 00

" do balance on printing No. 32 Phil. 2 75

" do moving Press to Springboro, 10 75

8, do printing Philanthropist, 51 00

17, do on obligation, 300 00

22, do printing Philanthropist, 50 55

25, C. K. Bushnell, 39 00

26, Expenses on Almanacks from Boston, 32 32

27, Postage on Publications, 3 00

28, Advertising, 2 50

31, A. Pugh for printing Philanthropist, 50 00

31, Expenses on paper from N. Y., 10 74

Nov. 1, Rev. John Dudley for services, 11 00

3, Discount on draft from Cleveland,	1 12
5, A. Pugh for printing Philanthropist,	50 50
7, D. C. Eastman, per order,	23 25
" J. H. Dickey, do	72 10
" A. Pugh, do	14 37
12, Expenses on books from New York,	47 47
23, Dr. Bailey as Editor,	47 00
" C. K. Bushnell,	30 00
22, A. Pugh, printing Philanthropist,	50 55
" Freight on box from N. Y.,	3 64
" J. G. Birney,	10 00
29, A. Pugh, balance on obligation,	44 16
Dec. 2, Wm. F. Cushman, and S. Davis for one month's assistance in Colored Schools,	13 22
Mr. Brooks for services circulating pet's, 14 34	
3, Exchange on Draft from Putnam,	37
" A. Pugh, on obligation,	60 00
" For paper,	35 00
" C. Cropper binding Narratives,	36 00
" O. H. Donogh printing, No. 41 Philan.,	62 70
12, Phillips & Spear, for paper,	150 00
17, A. Pugh on obligation,	137 00
31, C. K. Bushnell,	5 00
" O. H. Donogh printing 42, 43, 44, & 45, 253 89	
Jan. 3, A. Pugh, printing No. 46,	62 75
" Andrews and snuffers,	3 12
6, Cushman and Davis 1 month in school,	16 48
20, Dr. Bailey,	3 00
" M. R. Robinson per order,	25 00
21, Postage,	2 35
28, O. H. Donogh for printing Nos. 47, 48, 49, and 50 Philanthropist,	246 95
Feb. 1, Cushman & Davis assistance in school,	6 00
" D. Loring & Co. for paper,	150 00
16, D. C. Eastman, Lecturer,	5 00
17, O. H. Donogh, for printing Nos. 51, 52, 53, and 54, Philanthropist,	240 00
31, Postage,	4 20
MARCH 9, C. K. Bushnell, Office,	128 00
9, J. W. Ely for paper,	27 00
13, C. K. Bushnell, Office,	145 44
14, J. G. Birney,—am't paid by him to A. S. S., in part of debt due them,	218 57
Do. advanced by him to pay for paper, 199 63	
20, R. G. Williams N. Y. for publications,	100 00
" Postage,	25
25, C. K. Bushnell,	20 25
27, Donogh, print'g Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 313 79	
" A. Pugh in full of Obligation of indemnification against Mob,	201 98
APRIL 12, Chase & Eells, Council in case of kidnapping colored woman Matilda,	30 00
13, C. K. Bushnell,	5 00
17, D. Loring & Co. for paper,	25 00
20, Dr. Bailey,	3 00
22, Carl & Alley, print'g Nos. 60, 61, 62,	168 00
24, Expenses on paper from N. Y.,	26 53
28, Carl & Alley, printing No. 63,	55 00
MAY 4, Lucy Wright Sec. of Central school Com.,	44 00
" M. R. Robinson, services as Agent,	48 00
" J. G. Birney to buy paper at N. Y.,	200 00
" E. Weed for services as Agent,	40 00
" A. S. Society in part of Pledge made to them at Granville,	164 00
Amount,	\$9092 45

RECEIPTS.

MAY 3, 1836.

" Received of Anniversary at Granville, 720 10 |

" Cincinnati A. S. Soc., (pledge), 100 00 |

14, A. G. Allen, 36 00 |

21, 3 boxes, 1 25 |

JUNE 18, Ohio A. S. Office per Wattles, 62 00 |

21, do per J. G. Birney, 106 90 |

23 & 29, do per Wattles, 83 10 |

Nett proceeds Printing Press sold

ECCELESIASTICAL.

From the Zion's Herald, O. C. T.

BA. BROWN.
We have been appointed a committee of the New England Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society, to prepare the publication of the proceedings of a meeting of the Anti-Slavery members of the New England Conference. Will you give the said proceedings a place in your columns.

T. MERRITT,
LA ROY SUNDERSLAND,
F. P. TRACY.
June 23, 1837.

Doing of a Meeting of the Abolitionist Members of the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

A meeting of the preachers of the New England Conference, who were abolitionists, was held in the vestry of the M. E. Church in Nantucket, on the 9th of June, 1837, at 4 o'clock, P. M.

Joseph A. Merrill was called to the chair.
Singing.
E. P. Tracy appointed Secretary.

Some desultory conversation took place respecting a public anniversary of the N. E. W. A. S. Society, during conference. The constitution of the society was produced, and it was

Voted. To request any present, who agreed with the doctrine of the constitution, to come forward and subscribe. Several gave their names.

Voted. To refer the subject of the anniversary to the Board of Managers of the society.

Voted. That we should very much approve of the holding an anniversary as proposed.

The following resolution was submitted by Brother O. Scott:

Resolved. That immediately after the appointment of the regular committees to-morrow morning, we will peacefully, though firmly claim the privilege of presenting our memorials on the subject of slavery, and of referring them to a select committee; and that, should this reasonable request be denied us, we will unitedly, and utterly refuse to do any business, till we shall obtain these, our just rights.

After some discussion, it was voted to lay the resolution on the table.

Resolved. That a committee be appointed to wait on the Bishop, and inform him of our wishes, and if necessary, of our determinations.

Brothers Jos. A. Merrill, Isaac Bonney and Jonathan Horton were appointed.

Voted. To add two to the committee.

Brothers Shipley W. Wilson and A. D. Merrill were added.

Voted. To adjourn to half past 7 to-morrow morning to meet at this place.

And the meeting accordingly adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, June 7.

The meeting was held at the time and place appointed. J. A. Merrill in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. O. Scott.

The committee appointed to confer with Bishop Waugh, made a report in part by their chairman, J. A. Merrill, as follows:

"JUNE 6, 1837.
Bishop Waugh: These brethren and myself have been selected by the anti-slavery brethren, who are preachers, and most of them members of the N. E. Conference, to inform you that memorials and petitions have been forwarded from members of our church, in different parts of the conference, praying the conference to take such action on the subject of slavery, as is set forth in the petitions themselves. And the conference, for their brethren and themselves, would request the privilege of introducing them, and having them referred to a select committee, immediately after the appointment of the regular committees, to-morrow. They would simply add, that the time for the introduction and reference of these memorials or petitions, will probably be very short, as the reading of one will be altogether sufficient, inasmuch, as they will all be of a similar description."

We presented this address to Bishop Waugh, and he stated to us, that he wished some time to consult some brethren on the subject, and to consider. He stated that what course he should take if we insisted on immediate action he could not say; but he feared he would be obliged to act contrary to our wishes. We consented to wait for his answer until the next morning, and the next morning made this statement to him:

"We think we have good reason to believe, that if the privilege of introducing these petitions and memorials of our people is denied, the conference will refuse to act on any subject that shall be introduced."

J. A. MERRILL,
For the Committee.

Voted. That a committee of five be appointed to fix on some proper plan of operations to be adopted by us in conference, in case the Bishop refuses to grant us our request.

Brothers L. R. Sunderland, T. Merritt, S. W. Wilson, R. Ransom, and E. W. Stickney were appointed on this committee.

Voted. That Br. T. Merritt be added to the committee to wait on the Bishop.

Voted. That we will unitedly sustain any measures which the committee shall propose, and this meeting cut out in.

The last vote was taken by rising, and all in the house, with one or two exceptions, rose in the affirmative—none in the negative.

Voted. To adjourn to 4 o'clock, P. M., to meet in the same place.

AFTERNOON.

The meeting being assembled, it was called to order.—Dr. J. A. Merrill in the chair.

Prayer by Dr. Merritt.

Br. Scott read a memorial, designed to be presented to Bishop Waugh, and requested all favorable to its doctrine to sign it. Nearly all the members of the conference who were present subscribed it.

Br. P. Crandall read the constitution of the N. E. W. A. S. Society, in order to procure signatures.

Br. L. Bates gave the meeting the contents of a letter he had lately received from Rev. Jacob Eastman, Ohio, giving some very encouraging information respecting the progress of abolitionism in that state.

The committee to fix on a plan of operations, reported as follows, by Brother L. R. Sunderland:

"The committee to whom was referred the question as to the best measures for the conference to take, in case the Bishop denies us the right of acting in a conference capacity, the memorials to be presented on the subject of slavery to-morrow morning—"

Report. That in their opinion, the best measure in the case above supposed, will be to lay every other question on the table, till this right is granted us; as the question under present circumstances, the committee believe to be paramount in its claims to any other which can at this time come before the conference. And should this plan fail, we recommend that the conference should adjourn to the commencement of another session, from time to time, till our rights are granted us, and that the intervals be spent in solemn prayer. And the committee would also recommend, that the accompanying memorial be circulated for signatures, and forthwith presented to the Bishop.

LA ROY SUNDERSLAND, Chairman.
Nantucket, June 7, 1837."

A committee consisting of Brothers A. Kent, D. Kilburn, D. Fillmore, A. U. Swinerton, and H. H. White, announced themselves by their chairman, Br. Kent, as a committee of a council called by the Bishop on the subject of the memorials, and stated that they came under the sanction of the Bishop, to see if some arrangement could not be made, to avoid a collision between the anti-slavery brethren and the Bishop; and they requested that a conference might be held with them, either by committee or otherwise.

Voted. That a committee of five be appointed to confer with the committee of the Bishop's council.

Br. T. Merritt, O. Scott, J. Horton, J. Bonney, and L. R. Sunderland were chosen the committee.

Voted. That when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet at this place at 4 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Voted. That the report of the committee on a plan of operations be laid on the table.

Voted. That the memorial presented for signatures by the committee on a plan of operations, be committed to the committee of conference, to be used by them at their discretion.

Adjourned.

Meeting was called to order at 4 1/2 o'clock, A. M., by Dr. J. A. Merrill in the chair.

Prayer by Br. Wm. Smith.

The committee to wait on Bishop Waugh, reported by Br. Horton that the Bishop had communicated his decision to them in a letter, which they presented.

The letter was read by Br. Horton.

"NANTUCKET, June 8, 1837.
To Rev. J. Merritt, I. Bonney, J. A. Merrill, and others

DEAR BRETHREN:
Last evening I received your communication, signed by you, and upwards of sixty other members of the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which you inform me that you have in your possession a large number of memorials on the subject of slavery, (similar to the one shown me by the Rev. J. A. Merrill), which you wish the privilege of presenting to the Conference. You also proceed to say, "We respectfully ask it as our right as a conference, to appoint a committee to report and consider on the said memorials, as all the right to act in a conference capacity on any report from such committee," and you close by asking me to inform you "whether you are to expect any opposition from me as the President of the Conference, against any action of the Conference in the premises above stated."

In reply to your communication, I respectfully and affectionately say to you, dear brethren, that as far as I may be consistent with my obligations to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it will afford me pleasure to obtain from any course in which conflict or disagreement would be likely to arise on any subject, which may come before the Conference. I cannot, however, admit the doctrine which you have set up in your communication, when you say that it is your right to appoint a committee to report on said memorials, and also to act on any report from such committee. I cannot admit this unqualified or unlimited doctrine of right, which I know of no instrument or organization, or established usage, which gives such a right to an Annual Conference. Annual Conferences owe their existence to the General Conference, and cannot have organization without the action of that body in fixing the boundaries thereof. The General Conference determines not only the location and bounds of an Annual Conference, but defines the business to which its action extends. It will not be pretended by any one, that an Annual Conference is a legislative body. Its functions are judicial and executive. Hence when the right claimed, to receive memorials on the subject of slavery, to refer them to a committee, and to act on any report which may be made by such committee? Has any Conference, but the General Conference, jurisdiction over the subject of slavery? I believe not. It is indeed admitted, that those Conferences within whose bounds slavery exists, can, and ought to take such cognizance of the subject as they are empowered and directed to do, by the General Conference, and to perform executive acts in fulfillment of the regulations of the General Conference; but what executive act can be performed by an Annual Conference on the subject of slavery, in whose bounds it has no existence? But the doctrine set up would not be admitted because of its destructive tendency. If an Annual Conference can extend its jurisdiction over questions, other than those which are judicial and executive, then it may introduce and prosecute measures, which may arraign, censure, or condemn, the very body which gives it existence. It may appoint a committee to investigate and report on any of our doctrines, either favorably or unfavorably. It may take under its revision the very Discipline itself, and by report sanction or condemn it. Such a doctrine is too absurd and subversive of order to be admitted. But even if it were true that the right existed, would there be expediency in its exercise on the subject of slavery and abolition at the present time? Will you, brethren, hazard the unity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, destroy and break down her onward march, by agitating those fearfully exciting topics, and that too, in opposition to the solemn decision and deliberate conclusion of the General Conference? I cannot think that many of you can see your way clear to go so far. Are you willing to contribute to the destruction of our beautiful and elegant form of civil and political government, after it has cost the labor, treasure, and blood of our fathers, to establish it!—and who themselves, agreed to place it by compromise on that very base which is now sought to be overthrown—Can you indulge in a zeal which hurries you on to the injury, (if not the extermination,) of the very race whose enslaved condition has so powerfully excited your sympathies? I beg you, dear brethren, to pause and consider, before you proceed. I am not the apologist of slavery. I have long since settled my opinions and habits against it. I would that it were obliterated from the earth, but in view of the terrible consequences which are likely to follow the agitation of these exciting topics at the present, I cannot consent to be participant in any sense or degree, in those measures which are advocated by modern abolitionists. I am, nevertheless, earnestly desirous to avoid any collision with so large and so respectable a portion of the New England Conference as have signed the communication named in this reply. For all of you, brethren, I cherish the most kind and affectionate regard. Some of you are my intimate friends, in whose society I have spent many pleasant moments. You must know that I can have no motives of a personal or selfish nature in the course which I pursue on this unhappy subject. I have deliberated and prayed—I have counselled and advised; and have tremblingly, yet firmly arrived at the following conclusions, and I now offer you the alternative. Before, however, I proceed to state them, I beg you to understand the ground on which the first proposition is predicated. It is offered as a conciliatory measure, and is distinctly declared to be without intention or design to have it understood, that the New England Conference, as such, is committed by this peace-offering, to the cause of modern abolition. First, I will not oppose the reading of the memorials alluded to, in the Conference, nor will I object to putting the question to a motion to refer them to a committee to consider and report thereon: provided you will agree to two things, which are so reasonable in themselves, that I flatter myself they will readily meet your concurrence. These are, first, that in your report you will confine your action on the question of slavery to a respectful petition or memorial to the General Conference of 1840; and, second, That you will agree not to publish your report to either the civil or religious community, so as to increase or keep up an excitement on the subject. But if you like not this course, nor agree to it, then I must say, that on a motion to refer the memorial to a committee, I shall deem it my duty, for reasons which I will assign at the time, to refuse to put the motion to the vote, and time and eternity must disclose the true doctrine of responsibility for the consequences resulting.

Yours, affectionately, B. WAGON."

After considerable discussion, it was

Voted. That the letter be referred to a committee of five to confer further with the Bishop, and that we will defer further action until the morning.

Brothers T. Merritt, O. Scott, J. Horton, J. Porter, and L. R. Sunderland, were appointed on the committee.

Adjourned to 4 1/2 o'clock to-morrow morning.

SATURDAY, June 10.

Meeting was called to order at 4 1/2 o'clock, by the Secretary, Br. J. A. Merrill not being present.

Prayer was offered by Br. A. D. Merrill.

Br. A. D. Merrill was chosen President, pro tem.

Br. O. Scott, of the committee of further conference with the Bishop, reported a letter which had been communicated by the committee to the Bishop, and also his reply to the same, and also that they had a conversation with Bishop Waugh, in which he stated; (in reply to a suggestion that his proposals in his first letter were liable to different constructions,) that he did intend—1st, That the contemplated report should be simply and only a memorial to the General Conference; and, 2d, That it should not be published at all, in any way.

Adjourned.

NANTUCKET, June 9.
To Bishop Waugh:—The undersigned have been appointed a committee, by the brethren whose names were to the document presented you on the 7th inst., to confer with you in relation to a reply. Under the apprehension that you have misapprehended our wishes, as also the views of the memorialists to whom we have before referred, we beg leave to state—

1. That the memorials that we wish to present to the Conference, do not ask for any legislative, judicial, or executive action of the Conference. They simply ask that body to "bear its solemn testimony against the sin of slavery," and also to memorialize the General Conference on the subject.

2. The members of the Conference who have addressed you upon this subject, do not claim any right of legislative, judicial, or executive action. We wish simply to know, whether you will oppose, as President of the Conference, any proposed action of the Conference, by which it may express and publish an opinion on the evils of slavery, and the best means for hastening its peaceful termination. The right which we claim to express and publish our opinion on this subject, we conceive to be the same as has already been exercised by the Ohio, Holston, Baltimore, New York and Maine Conferences, as well as the General Conference; and as the proposals in your communication of yesterday, are, as we think, liable to different constructions, we respectfully request that you will give us in writing, as soon as may be, an answer to the following question:

Will you, as President of the New England Conference, oppose any proposed action of that body by which it may express and publish an opinion on the subject of slavery? With due respect, and sincere affection,

T. MERRITT,
O. SCOTT,
J. HORTON,
LA ROY SUNDERSLAND,
JAMES PORTER,

Committee.

NANTUCKET, June 9, 1837.

To the Rev. T. Merritt, O. Scott, La Roy Sunderland, Jonathan Horton, and James Porter.

DEAR BRETHREN:
I have this day received your communication of this morning, informing me that you have been appointed a committee whose names were signed to a document presented to me on the 7th inst., to confer with me in relation to my reply, and saying that you were under the apprehension that I have "misapprehended your wishes, as also the views of the memorialists to whom you have before referred," and requesting me to give an answer "in writing as soon as may be." You also state that the proposals in my communication of yesterday, are, as you think, "liable to different interpretations." To which, I respectfully and affectionately respond, that I regret that my reply should either be ambiguous or equivocal. I designed to speak a plain language, and if I have failed to express myself intelligibly, some apology may be found for me in the circumstances in which I have been placed, in my intercourse on the subjects in controversy between us. I, however, must do you the justice to say, that your communication of the 7th inst., to which my reply was made, is neither obscure or equivocal. It will always speak for itself, and while words represent ideas, or convey sentiments, you will be understood to assert "your right as a Conference to appoint a committee to consider and report said memorials, as also the right to act in a conference capacity, on any report from such committee." My reply was designed to show, that for certain reasons which were given, I could not act as the President of the Annual Conference, admit such a doctrine of unlimited right in an Annual Conference; and that I could not become a participant in any such claim by allowing the action of the Conference on memorials which relate to slavery, and which also involve the doctrine of modern abolitionism. I regret that my offer of a conciliatory measure did not meet with favor in your eyes; and in view of its rejection, I have only to repeat, that I shall, as the President of the New England Conference, decline to put to vote, any question of reference on memorials which seek to keep up an excitement, and produce agitation on topics which the wisdom and authority of General Conference have sought to quiet and put to rest."

Affectionately yours, B. WAGON."

It was moved, That we will present our memorials singly, and move their reference to a committee in each case.

The question was divided, and it was

Voted. That we will present our memorials singly.

The latter member of the motion being withdrawn,

Voted. To appoint a committee of three to manage the business in the conference.

Br. T. Merritt was chosen; at his request he was excused.

O. Scott chosen; J. Horton chosen; at his request excused.

J. A. Merrill and James Porter chosen; and the committee then consisted of Brs. Scott, Merritt, and Porter.

Voted. That we will stand by the committee of management in their measures in Conference this morning.

Voted. That when our memorials are rejected, we will adjourn the Conference, under the direction of the committee.

Adjourned. F. P. TRACY, Secretary.

Nantucket, June 10, 1837.

ADDRESS

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Impressed with the belief that it is the solemn duty of Christians to do all in their power to meliorate the condition of mankind, the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, held in the city of New York, ventures to address you on one of the most deeply interesting subjects that can engage the attention of philanthropic minds.

Abstaining, as we are known to do, from any participation in the political movements of the day, we trust that we shall stand acquitted of any sinister motives, in making a few remarks on the topic of American Slavery. Considering the excitement which has been produced in the north as well as in the south, by the discussion of this very important subject; and considering, also, the feeling with which an address of this nature may be received by at least one portion of our fellow citizens, we would gladly withhold our feeble efforts, did not our sympathy for the suffering slaves, and our deep sense of what is required of us as professing Christians, imperatively demand that we should raise our voice against injustice and oppression. We should prove faithless to the cause of our holy religion, and to that gracious Being who has bestowed his favors upon us so bountifully, were we to remain silent while within the borders of our territory more than two millions of human beings are held in servile bondage. As a society we have for many years been convinced, that freedom cannot be withheld from the slave, without militating against Christian principles; and in accordance with this belief, we deemed it to be our duty to require that all our members should be guiltless of holding property in their fellow-men. Having broken the shackles of our own slaves, we felt and still feel it to be a part of the work assigned us by the Supreme Judge of the world, that we should continue our efforts in behalf of the oppressed African race. We solicit, therefore, fellow citizens, your patient attention to what we have to say on a subject which, in this republic, fills the reproach of slavery shall no longer be cast upon us.

You cannot but be aware, that of the thirteen millions of human beings who tread our soil, more than two millions are slaves; claimed as the property of their fellow men, for whose exclusive benefit they are compelled to labor. You cannot but be aware, that they are liable to be transferred from one dealer to another, to be removed to any state, regardless of those natural feelings of affection, which bind men to their families, friends, and country; that many thousands of unfortunate beings are annually sold and taken from their homes and kindred to distant states, there to serve without compensation, new, and perhaps cruel masters; that in the District of Columbia, which is under the exclusive control of Congress, slavery and the traffic in human beings are tolerated, even in the vicinity of the Capitol, where sit the Representatives of the people who profess to hold freedom as the inalienable right of man. And being aware of these facts, will you not sanction our efforts in behalf of the slave, and cheerfully contribute your aid; to effect in a peaceful and lawful manner, the liberation of the oppressed African?

The condition of our fellow men now in the gallies of servitude, all must admit to be truly deplorable. Considered as the property of their masters, they are estimated in proportion to the value of the labor they are capable of performing; too little attention is given to their happiness, and in general, only so much is paid to their bodily comfort as is necessary to keep them in a proper condition to perform their daily tasks. As a proof that the mind of the negro receives but a small share of his master's regard, we need only refer to the existing laws prohibiting the education of slaves, and attaching a penalty to the humane effort of teaching them to read. Thus they are reared in profound ignorance; the spiritual benefits derivable from the perusal of the holy scriptures, is withheld from them; and it is to be feared that great numbers die annually, who have never been taught by human agency, that there is a future state of existence; or that they possess immortal souls to be saved or lost.

Among the evils of slavery, may be reckoned the deleterious influences over the morals both of the master and the slave. We entreat you, fellow citizens, to consider whether the Christian religion in its purity, can flourish among a people, who without compunction, claim and exercise exclusive control over the persons of their fellow men, require the performance of arduous daily tasks, and appropriate the fruits of labor thus extorted, to their own benefit, regardless of the scripture declaration that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and of the injunction of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Can those who are content to keep slaves in ignorance of the sacred writings fully estimate their value, or appreciate the importance of the doctrines contained in the New Testament? It is contrary to the very nature of things, that they should entertain a high regard for the gospel of Christ, while in the maintenance of slavery, they violate its spirit. If the religion of a slaveholding community is thus seriously affected by this enormous evil; how can it be expected that the morality of that community should be preserved unimpaired? How can it be supposed that the domestic relations of the slaves will be respected by the masters, or by the slaves themselves, who, from their want of mental improvement, cannot properly estimate the sanctity of the marriage covenant, or be aware of the restraint it is destined to impose. By destroying the moral principles of the bondman, slavery urges him to intemperance, theft, and other vices; and to such a state of debasement does it reduce him that he can hardly be reclaimed by the force of example, or by persuasion. He becomes addicted to licentiousness in all its forms, and being destined by his hard lot to live and toil for the ease and luxury of others, and accustomed to be governed and controlled with so much severity, he regards it as his highest enjoyment to escape his daily allotted task, and to surrender himself a prey to the leading of his unbridled passions.

It would seem unnecessary to adduce arguments in proof of the sinfulness of slavery. The Christian World proclaims it, and we cannot entertain so poor an opinion of our countrymen, as to suppose there are many among them who honestly believe that slavery is not a positive evil of an aggravated character.

Whatever difference of sentiment there may be as to the practicality of emancipating the slaves, all is as hoped, concur in the wish that slavery had no existence within our borders.

If we thought it could be considered justifiable by any in the northern States, we would point to that portion of the celebrated Declaration of Independence, wherein the noble sentiment is expressed that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that amongst those, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." As that document, has received the unqualified approval of the American people, how can the slave-holding portion of our brethren, reconcile their confessed approbation of that passage with their favorable opinion of slavery? We might also point to the several laws of Congress prohibiting the importation of slaves, and imposing the penalty due to piracy on every person detected in that nefarious traffic. If the introduction of slaves is considered by Congress a crime of so deep a dye as to merit death, how can it be maintained that it is not sinful to hold in servitude those already in the country? Or who can show an essential difference in principle, between carrying slaves across the Atlantic, which is punishable with death, and driving them from their homes and friends in one state, to be sold to strangers in another? If the intervention of Congress was necessary in one case, it surely is in the other; and we ask you, fellow-citizens, seriously to reflect on the moral degradation, the mental as well as the physical suffering produced by this internal trading in human flesh, which we consider no less disgraceful, and not less deserving the immediate attention of our national legislature than the foreign slave trade.

We might proceed to enumerate many prominent evils resulting from slavery, and refer, as one pernicious consequence, to the habits of indolence it engenders among those who depend on the labor of slaves, the baneful effects of which are so obvious to all who have the opportunity of contrasting the northern and southern states; but we base our abhorrence of slavery, chiefly on its sinfulness, standing as it does, opposed to the divine principles of the Christian Religion. We have tried this system by the gospel of our Redeemer, and we have found that it harmonizes with none of its precepts; but that it conflicts with the teachings of Him who came into the world to emancipate the friend of the poor and of the oppressed.

A distinguished statesman of our country, one who was himself a slave-holder, and fully acquainted with the condition of the bondman under the most favorable circumstances, in speaking of slavery, held the following memorable language: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just—this justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, an exchange of situations is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

Among the individual and national sins, for which the American people are now sustaining severe and almost unparalleled distress, may we not give to slavery a conspicuous place? Who can contemplate the increased traffic in our fellow men during the last three years, without feeling the conviction that Heaven has at length interposed to assert the rights of the slave, and to punish us for our crimes.

It is our wish, in thus addressing you, to awaken the minds of those who have reflected but little on the subject, to a just appreciation of its importance: not to suggest any mode by which the abolition of slavery should be effected. We are aware of the difficulties which start up in the way of emancipation; we are perfectly aware how closely the evil entwines itself with the relations of society at the south; but we do not despair that the all-wise Disposer of events, will, in his own time, open a way for the accomplishment of this most desirable object. We trust that not many more years of suffering will be permitted to pass, before he shall impress the minds of all our countrymen with the turpitude of slavery, and inspire their hearts with that wisdom which is requisite to devise a proper remedy for the greatest of our social maladies.

We hope, fellow-citizens, that such of you as have not already devoted a portion of your time and attention to this stain upon our national character, will henceforth exert yourself in a cause which has the strongest claim upon your sympathies, as Americans, freemen, and Christians. Let us not be behind the philanthropists of the old world in our efforts to raise the oppressed negro to the station that he should occupy as a member of the great human family, and to wipe from the Christian name, a blot that has too long been permitted to dim its lustre.

Signed by direction and on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, aforesaid, held in New York by adjournments, from the 29th of the 5th Month, to the 2d of 6th Month, inclusive, 1837.

WILLIAM L. GAY, Clerk.

SAMUEL PARSONS, Clerk.

Speech of Professor Mahan—American Prejudice.

In the fall of 1834, the first Anniversaries of our great National Societies were held in Cincinnati. Great pains had been taken to get together the best men in the nation, immediately after the meeting closed, several of the most distinguished clergymen from abroad, went over into Kentucky, to attend a public meeting in that State.

When the exercises were over, the stage drove up, and all but two of them had taken their seats, there being two seats still vacant. The seat contiguous to one of the vacant ones, was occupied by a colored lady, and as the two came up, (one of them, Secretary and General Agent of one of our leading National Societies, and the other editor of a leading religious journal) they stood for some time at the stage door, each one urging the other to get in first.

A Rev. Doctor, who, seeing the dilemma they were in, remarked, "If there is an abolitionist among us, here is a seat for him," and then there was a real horse laugh. And these were the men who had gone there to pour out their sympathies for the wide world. That colored woman, he believed, was a sister in the church. A brother minister had since told him, that he had seen her weep as though her heart would break, as she related the circumstances. Here we saw the legitimate effect of slavery on the moral sensibilities of even good men.

And were men, the fountain of whose sympathies was thus dried up, prepared to obey the injunction of Christ, to "go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature?" He never met with the man, that seemed to have the spirit of Christ, whose sympathies did not flow out upon the whole human family alike.

the education of slaves, and attaching a penalty to the humane effort of teaching them to read. Thus they are reared in profound ignorance; the spiritual benefits derivable from the perusal of the holy scriptures, is withheld from them; and it is to be feared that great numbers die annually, who have never been taught by human agency, that there is a future state of existence; or that they possess immortal souls to be saved or lost.

Among the evils of slavery, may be reckoned the deleterious influences over the morals both of the master and the slave. We entreat you, fellow citizens, to consider whether the Christian religion in its purity, can flourish among a people, who without compunction, claim and exercise exclusive control over the persons of their fellow men, require the performance of arduous daily tasks, and appropriate the fruits of labor thus extorted, to their own benefit, regardless of the scripture declaration that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and of the injunction of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Can those who are content to keep slaves in ignorance of the sacred writings fully estimate their value, or appreciate the importance of the doctrines contained in the New Testament? It is contrary to the very nature of things, that they should entertain a high regard for the gospel of Christ, while in the maintenance of slavery, they violate its spirit. If the religion of a slaveholding community is thus seriously affected by this enormous evil; how can it be expected that the morality of that community should be preserved unimpaired? How can it be supposed that the domestic relations of the slaves will be respected by the masters, or by the slaves themselves, who, from their want of mental improvement, cannot properly estimate the sanctity of the marriage covenant, or be aware of the restraint it is destined to impose. By destroying the moral principles of the bondman, slavery urges him to intemperance, theft, and other vices; and to such a state of debasement does it reduce him that he can hardly be reclaimed by the force of example, or by persuasion. He becomes addicted to licentiousness in all its forms, and being destined by his hard lot to live and toil for the ease and luxury of others, and accustomed to be governed and controlled with so much severity, he regards it as his highest enjoyment to escape his daily allotted task, and to surrender himself a prey to the leading of his unbridled passions.

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